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ABSTRACT

This sourcebook for teaching about women in U.S. history classes is arranged in seven chapters. Each chapter contains background information and a selection of primary source writings by both men and women. Attention is directed toward the activities and status of both white and minority women in all periods. Chapter I, "Women of the Colonial Period," provides background and readings on the Puritan view of women, colonial businesswomen, early poets, and early feminist dissent. Chapter II, "Women of the Revolutionary Era," focuses on women's activities on the battlefield and behind the scenes. Early 19th century women are portrayed in chapter III. The proliferation of schools for girls, the profession of the school teacher, conditions for working women, and the Seneca Falls convention on women's rights are discussed. Chapter IV, "Pioneer and Native American Women," focuses on reasons for moving West, hardships, lifestyles, and customs. Chapter V, "Women During the Civil War Era," presents the viewpoints and activities of women in the North and South. Chapter VI, "Women Come of Age," contains background information and readings on labor, labor laws, and the movement for women's suffrage. A final chapter, "Modern Times," covers changes in women's lives since the Nineteenth Amendment, including roles in World War II, the civil rights movement, and the Equal Rights Amendment. A three-page suggested reading list concludes the document. (LP)

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I. Women of the Colonial Period (1600-1750)

By choice or by force women endured a rough voyage to begin a life in the desolate and unknown New World. Once here, they were all tied to a demanding life of ceaseless hard work in this undeveloped and sparsely inhabited wilderness. Women's contributions to the New World were essential to the success of the colonies. Without the traditional contributions of women - providing food, clothing, shelter, and the essentials of health care - the colonies could never have survived.

The first European woman to come to the colonies was Anne Forest, a widow. She was enticed to come to Jamestown by Sir Edwin Sandies in 1608. Sandies wanted to protect his extensive financial investment in the Virginia Company and feared men would leave the colonial settlement unless there were women settling there too. Mrs. Forest, other widows, spinsters and a few adventuresome women allowed Sandies and other investors to pay their passage. Once in the New World, they were assured of both marriage and adventure.

Most European women came to the New World with their families eager for religious or political freedom or financial gain. But some women, particularly in the southern colonies, came in a more dramatic fashion. They were kidnapped from the streets of London and other port cities. Kidnappers shoved women into holds of ships and in spite of a high incidence of death during passage, made a handsome profit selling women to eager husbands-to-be in the New World. With little literacy among seventeenth century women, the slow lines of communication, and the typical practice of kidnapping women from the lower classes, women were rarely reunited with their families in England or France. Women were also purchased from British prisons. At a "going rate" of four pounds sterling a head, convicted felons, debtors and others were purchased from prison wardens, [illegible]d into ships and sold in the colonies for "better or wo[illegible]e."

At the Cape Cod settlement women perform domestic chores as men practice defense skills

In the southern colonies, fewer women came with their families and marital arrangements were more informal. Initially, all southern women worked along with their husbands. Later wealthier women were allowed more leisure and home activities. In general, northern and southern women were desperately needed for the work they did and were considered valuable. Colonial women spent four to six hours a day spinning to make thread before they even began to weave the thread into cloth and sew it into garments.

In addition to bearing and raising children, they also made candles and soap, cooked, cleaned, and in time of harvest worked in the fields. They often were responsible for house and business records, and the doctoring of family members, for which many cultivated herbs. Their lives were often very lonely. In the South distances prohibited frequent visiting (even if they had time available) and in the North, both hard work and church prohibitions prevented much social visiting. Barn-raisings and quilting bees were not known until the 18th century and did not really occur too often. The bravery and stamina required of colonial women were essential to their survival, and that of the colonies. William Byrd described a woman living in a back settlement of Virginia in 1710 as "a very civil" woman who showed "nothing of ruggedness or immodesty in her carriage, yet she will carry a gun in the woods and kill deer, turkeys, etc., shoot down wild cattle, catch and tye hogs, knock down beeves with an ax, and perform the most manful exercises as well as most men in these parts."

As slaves were brought to the colonies, slave women took up the same tasks as white women. Although few slaves arrived in significant numbers until the 18th century, once in the colonies they were in high demand. In the South, Black women were particularly poorly treated. Most women were required to work in the fields from dawn to dusk and then attend to the needs of their families. Slave women were also often sold for breeding purposes, forced to have children and subjected to the sexual abuses of their owners.

The status of women varied slightly from colony to colony. In the northern colonies, the Puritan philosophy was prevalent and many Puritan beliefs about the role of women pervaded other colonies. A woman's most crucial and central role was as a family member. A strong family unit was essential to survival in the New World. Because of this, marriages were carefully conceived and both partners were seen as important. Young men and women decided whom to marry themselves, and if unhappy with local choices, could spend time visiting relatives in other towns. Once a choice was made, banns (intentions to marry) were published and a marriage took place as soon as land was available to the couple. The need for land often necessitated a wait so that premarital sex was not unusual and was accepted by the Puritans, as long as banns had been announced. The Puritan religion also shaped women's lives in more confining ways. Women were taught that once married they should be "ruled" by their husbands and should "learn in silence and with all subjection." Education for women was discouraged, as it was considered unnecessary except to allow them to be able housewives and read the Bible.

In the conservative northern colonies women who deviated from acceptable notions of behavior were dealt with severely. Anne Hutchinson was an influential settler in the Puritan Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1635 she began holding evening meetings to discuss sermons and theological questions. This alone was scandalous behavior as Puritan women were expected to "serve and

obey," and were not allowed to speak in most religious discussions. When she began to challenge the accepted doctrine she also was challenging the government, for Massachusetts was a theocracy. Her outspoken behavior compounded her crimes. She was tried by both civil and ecclesiastic courts, and charged with heresy, political treason, and unacceptable behavior for a woman. She was found guilty, and ordered from the colony. With her family, she moved to Rhode Island, and later to Long Island where they were killed by Indians.

The witch scare in Salem, Massachusetts in 1692 exemplifies some colonial attitudes about women. The girls involved, Elizabeth Parris, Ann Putnam, and their friends were quite young — all ten to fourteen years old. They had little to do in a society which only allowed them schooling until age seven or eight, and a late marriage. They met on cold winter mornings in the Parris' kitchen and were regaled with stories by the slave Tituba. They listened to ghost stories about spells and incantations. Knowing that these stories were "the work of the devil" it was only natural that the girls would react emotionally to them. According to historian Marian Starkey, they felt guilt-ridden and evil. Physically the girls reacted with tremors, stupors, and hysterical tears. The frantic parents assumed they were "possessed" and asked who was responsible. The girls responded with the names of women in the community they knew were seen as deviant by their parents. Although they were probably unaware of the reasons for their selective accusations (and the consequences that would occur) the women's names — Sarah Osborne, Sarah Good, and Martha Cory — were the town drunk, a religious dissident, and a tavern keeper. None of these women were seen as exhibiting appropriate female behavior.

If in Salem young girls had more of a place in society and there were more accepted options for behavior of older women, the tragedy of the witch hunt and executions might not have occurred.

Execution of a witch in Salem, Mass., 1692

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

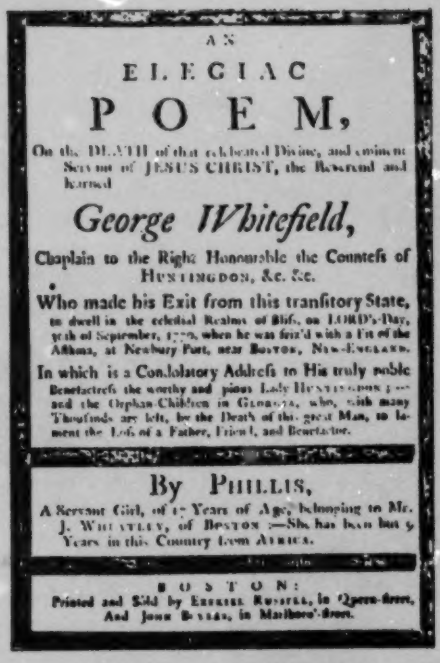
Juſt imported in the Snow Two Brothers, Capt. Marſden, from London, and to be ſold by

HANNAH BREINTNALL,

At the Sign of the Spectacles, in Second-ſtreet, near Black-Horſe-Alley,

VAriety of the fineſt Chryſtal Spectacles, ſet in Temple, Steel, Leather or other Frames. Likewiſe true Venetian green Spectacles for weak or watery Eyes, of various Sorts. Alſo Concave Spectacles for ſhort ſighted Perſons, Magnifying and Reading Glaſſes, Teleſcopes, Perſpectives, with Multiplying Glaſſes; and Glaſſes for Davis's Quadrants, &c. &c. ⊕

Advertisement from the Pennsylvania Gazette of 1758



AN

ELEGIAC

POEM,

On the DEATH of that celebrated Divine, and eminent Servant of JESUS CHRIST, the Reverend and learned

George Whitefield,

Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of HUNTINGDON, &c. &c.

Who made his Exit from this tranſitory State, to dwell in the celeſtial Realms of Bliſs, on LORD's-Day, 30th of September, 1770, when he was ſeiz'd with a Fit of the Aſthma, at Newbury Port, near BOSTON, NEW-ENGLAND.

In which is a Condolatory Addreſs to His truly noble Benefactreſs the worthy and pious Lady HUNTINGDON [illegible] and the Orphan-Children in GEORGIA, who, with many Thouſands are left, by the Death of this great Man, to lament the Loſs of a Father, Friend, and Benefactor.

By PHILLIS,

A Servant Girl, of 17 Years of Age, belonging to Mr. J. WHEATLEY, of BOSTON.—She has been but 9 Years in this Country from AFRICA.

BOSTON:

Printed and Sold by EZEKIEL RUSSELL, in Queen-ſtreet, And JOHN BOYLE, in Marlboro'-ſtreet.

The cover of Phillis Wheatley's volume of poetry

As the colonies were being settled women had a great deal of responsibility and respect, but once communities were established the rights of women were severely limited. Under common law, married women were treated quite differently from single ones. Widows and single women were known to vote, own property and operate businesses, but few married women did. The English common law which was followed in the colonies considered married women legally dead or at "one" with their husbands (not as separate individuals). Once married, a women could not vote, own property, appear in court, or inherit money and property except under special circumstances.

In spite of these legal and religious restrictions many women held important positions. The urgent need for human resources in the growing colonies had a liberating effect on women's roles that was unimagined in Europe. From surviving records we see that many women worked as printers, barbers, publishers, tanners, and even gunsmiths and blacksmiths. In many cases these were widows running their husbands' businesses but some were independent concerns.

Women were a vital element in colonial America. Although barriers existed, the conditions of settlement began to break down many traditional European restrictions and attitudes. At the conclusion of the colonial period American women had gained new respect from their communities and were recognized as a vital part of society.

PRIMARY SOURCES: COLONIAL LIFE
Commentaries - Blackstone...1765

The British Jurist Blackstone codified English common law in the late 18th century. His legal codes became the basis of much American law, particularly property restrictions. Here are his comments about married women; they set the tone of American laws relating to women.

By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in the law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection, and cover she performs everything...Upon this principle, of a union of person in husband and wife, depend almost all the legal rights, duties, and disabilities, that either of them acquire by marriage...For this reason, a man cannot grant anything to his wife, or enter into convenant with her: for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence; and to covenant with her, would be to covenant with himself...If the wife be injured in her person or property, she can bring no action for redress without her husband's concurrence, and in his name, as well as her own; neither can she be sued without making the husband a defendant...

But though our law in general considers man and wife as one person, yet there are some instances in which she is separately considered; as inferior to him, and acting by his compulsion. And therefore all deeds executed, and acts done, by her during her converture, are void...And in some felonies, and other inferior crimes, committed by her, through constraint of her husband, the law excuses her...

The husband also, by the old law, might give his wife moderate correction.

The Puritan View of Women

The first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop, was a staunch Puritan. This excerpt from his writings shows his attitudes about a woman who does not conform to the Puritan ideas of a good wife.

Mr. Hopkins, the governor of Hartford upon Connecticut, came to Boston, and brought his wife with him, (a goodly young woman, and of special [talents]), who was fallen into a sad [sickness], the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon [for] years, [because] of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband, being very loving and tender of her, [didn't want to make her unhappy]; but he saw his error, when it was too late. For if she had attended [to] her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she [would have] kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her. He brought her to Boston, and left her with her brother, one Mr. Yale, a merchant, to try what means might be had here for her. But no help could be had.*

*John Winthrop, **The History of New England from 1630 to 1649,** edited by James Savage (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1853), Vol. II.

Colonial Businesswoman

Born in New York City in 1693, Mary Provoost inherited money and invested it in her husband's business ventures. When her husband died she took over full management of his business affairs, as was typical among the Dutch colonists. This excerpt is from a letter written by her second husband in 1721.

Two nights ago at eleven o'clock, my wife [gave birth to] a daughter and is in good health as can be expected, and does more than can be expected of any woman, for till within a few hours of her being brought to bed she was in her shop, and ever since has given the price of goods to her apprentice, who comes to her and asks it when customers come in. The very next day after she was brought to bed she sold goods to above thirty pounds value. And here the business matters of her shop, which is generally esteemed the best in New York, she with an apprentice of about 16 years of age perfectly well manages without the least help from me, you may guess a little of her success...The greatest of my good fortune is in getting so good a wife as I have, who alone would make a man easy and happy had he nothing else to depend on.*

*Alice Morse Earle, **Colonial Days in Old New York** (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896).

Early Protests About the Lack of Equality

Many colonial women were active in business throughout the northern colonies, but their participation in other aspects of daily life was not permitted. This letter was composed by a group of New York women concerned about the problem, and published in John Peter Zenger's New York Journal in 1733.

Mr. Zenger,

We the widows of this city, have had a meeting and as our case is something deplorable we beg you will give it [a] place in your Weekly Journal, that we may be relieved. [Our case] is as follows.

We are housekeepers, pay our taxes, carry on trade, and most of us are she merchants, and as we in some measure contribute to the support of the government, we ought to be entitled to some of the sweets of it; but we find ourselves entirely neglected, while the husbands that live in our neighborhood are daily invited to dine at Court: we have the vanity to think we can be [just] as entertaining, and make as brave a defense in case of an invasion, and perhaps not turn tail so soon as some of them...*

*New York Weekly Journal, January 21, 1733/4.

Ann Bradstreet, Puritan Poet

Anne Bradstreet's fame as a poet in Puritan New England was certainly an exceptional accomplishment. Her poetry was published in book form in 1678. In this excerpt, she writes about being a woman in colonial New England.

From **The Prologue**

I am obnoxious to each carping [faulting finding] tongue,
Who says, my hand a needle better fits,
A Poet's pen, all scorn, I should thus wrong;
For such despite [scorn] they cast on female wits:

If what I do prove well, it won't advance,
They'll say it's stolen, or else, it was by chance.

Let Greeks be Greeks, and Women what they are,
Men have precedency, and still excel,
It is but vain, unjustly to wage war,
Men can do best, and Women know it well;
Pre-eminence in each and all is yours,
Yet grant some small acknowledgement of ours.*

*Anne Bradstreet, **The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America**...(London, 1650).

Phillis Wheatley, Black Poet

As a child the slave Phillis was purchased by John Wheatley, a wealthy Boston merchant. She was raised like a daughter and received an excellent classical education. Her book of poetry received great appreciation, and was most likely the first book published by a Black American, in 1772. The following poem is one of her early writings.

On being brought from AFRICA to AMERICA

'Twas mercy brought me from my pagan land,
Taught my benighted [ignorant] soul to understand
That there's a God, that there's a Savior too.

Once I redemption neither sought nor know.
Some view our sable race with scornful eye,
"Their color is a diabolic [devilish] die."
Remember, Christians, Negroes, black as Cain,
Many be refin'd, and join th' angelic train.

(This poem shows a different attitude about being a slave)

No more, America, a mournful strain
Of wrongs, and grievance unredress'd complain,
No longer shall thou dread the iron chain,

Which wanton Tyranny with lawless hand
Has made, and which it meant t' enslave the land.
Should you, my lord, while you pursue my song,
Wonder from whence my love of Freedom sprung,
Whence flow these wishes for the common good,
By feeling hearts alone best understood,
I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate
Was snatched from Afric's fancy'd happy seat:
What pangs excruciating must molest,
What sorrows labour in my parent's breast?
Steel'd was that soul and by no misery mov'd
That from a father seiz'd his babe belov'd:
Such, such is my case. And can I then but pray
Others may never feel tyrannic sway?*

*Phillis Wheatley, **Poems on Various Subjects** (London, 1773).

II WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA (1750-1800)

Abigail Adams was an early advocate of equal rights

Deborah Sampson fought in the Continental Army

As the Revolutionary era began (about 1750) women's lives remained dependent on men, whether as wives, daughters, mothers, and even widows. Women defined themselves in relation to their marriage. Their lives and sense of themselves revolved around whether or not their marriages were happy and satisfying. Widows characterized themselves as helpless. Few women saw themselves as independent and indicated in personal writings that their moods depended on that of the men in their lives.

All women were consumed with household chores. There was, at the dawn of the Revolution, little opportunity to do anything outside the home. If white women did have extra time, it was because a slave or indentured servant was helping with the necessary tasks. White women were apparently often criticized by their husbands and also acquiesced. They remained in subordinate and dependent roles.

Black women were constantly humiliated. They were usually given the hardest, dirtiest chores. Even when doing housework they were expected to avert their heads and eyes from whites and keep their hands covered lest they touch the food that would be eaten by white men and women.

The American Revolution changed some of this as least temporarily. From the onset men needed the cooperation and support of women in their resistance to British demands. Politically motivated boycotts, like that of tea and cloth, depended on female cooperation. The Daughters of Liberty (modeled after Sam Adams' Sons of Liberty, although not as violent) boycotted English goods, forcibly opened stores closed by hoarding merchants and tried to convince Tory wives to "come around." Before their husbands began dumping tea in Boston

Harbor, American women formed anti-tea leagues and popularized the substitution of raspberry, sage and birchberry teas in preference to the British breakfast variety. The manufacture of homemade textiles and other goods also allowed colonial patriots to avoid British-made purchases.

Women were philosophically supportive of the Revolution too. Slave and famous poet Phillis Wheatley wrote poetry favoring rebellion. The influential Mercy Otis Warren, always quite politically aware, corresponded with leading male patriots. She also wrote and produced satirical plays popular with the loyalists. And, of course, Abigail Adams was supportive of male and female freedom. She was disappointed by her husband, John Adams', response.

During the war, women conducted themselves with tremendous energy. They took over at home for their absent, fighting husbands. Women ran the country while men fought the war. They planted, tended and harvested the crops, which were essential to the war effort. If the colonies were to eat and fight during the war, women had to maintain the fields, or husbands would leave the battlefront to return home to tend the crops. Other women took over as shopkeepers, printers, millers, butchers, silversmiths and gunsmiths.

Some women were even active on the battlefield. Several women went to war dressed as men and actually fought for long periods of time. Others followed their husbands to war and acted as water carriers, servants, and helpers. "Molly Pitcher" was the name used to describe many women who assisted in battles by carrying water to cannon gunners. The legend of a woman who took over the task of a felled gunner has led to the popular misconception that there was one individual Molly Pitcher. Probably that particular story was repeated in several battles.

Many women, like Lydia Darragh and Ann Bates were very successful spies. Deborah Champion, Jane Thomas and Sybil Ludington rode similar paths to Paul Revere and weren't captured by the British as Revere finally was. Officers' wives went with their husbands to Valley Forge. Martha Washington wrote to her friends about that "terrible winter" with severe chills, lack of firewood and close quarters. Of course many Americans are familiar with the story of Betsy Ross

Revolutionary activists: A "Molly Pitcher" (left) and a woman burning her wheat crop to avoid its capture by British troops

and the flag, but there is little information to support this story. The energy and resources rebel women contributed to the war were highly valued, for with less than half the country supporting the Revolution in 1776, all efforts were necessary to reach victory. Late in the war a young officer wrote to General Burgoyne that even if the British were able to defeat the American men, they would still need to contend with all the women.

The end of the war was difficult. The loss or injury of loved ones and the transition to a more normal life are difficult after any war. Also, ties to Britain were not always painlessly severed.

Historians differ somewhat on the general impact of the Revolutionary Era on the lives of women. Mary Beth Norton, a Cornell historian, has drawn extensively on diaries and letters of the period to describe significant changes. She points to the necessary cooperation of women in the revoluationary effort and rising political awareness in this time of philosophical upheaval. This resulted in a new awareness of untapped skills and capabilities in women themselves. New roles, Norton feels, made women feel more important, allowed them to think for themselves, and made them less dependent on men. In fact, education for women was first emphasized during this era, as was the influence of mothers on the new, rising republican generations. Many women apparently saw education as a release from "household drudgery." Norton indicates that a few new-found, early feminists even may have remained single by choice. This generation of women (born 1770-1800) may have been the first with some alternatives for their future lives.

One British woman certainly supported these notions. In 1790 Mary Wollstonecraft published the **Vindication of the Rights of Women.** In it she emphasized the need for equality and education for women. She said no healthy society was possible without the equality of those who constituted it, that men would benefit from the equality of women. She believed women were scorned and consequently had poor self-images because they were allowed no solid accomplishments. Apparently many American women read Wollstonecraft, although the full impact of her ideas is unclear.

Some Americans shared some of Wollstonecraft's ideas. Judith Sargent Stevens Murray encouraged early and continuing education for girls. She insisted that early imaginative inclinations could and should be developed further. Thomas Paine warned women of the deprivation of authority they were likely to suffer at the hands of power-thirsty men. Paine was an early and vocal feminist.

Other historians (Smith, Cott, Lerner among them) disagree with Norton and, while acknowledging Paine and Murray, play down their influence on the average post-war American woman. Following the war, new ideas and class distinctions emerged. Leisure was available for the first time to many upper-and middle-class women. The Puritan religious emphasis declined significantly. As communities diversified and new cities were formed there was less essential demand for women's work and less active support for the strong family unit. While some new opportunities may have been available, most women (and society in general) still saw women's place as defined by a good marriage. Unfortunately conditions no longer offered as many reasons for "good" marriages. Emphasis in some instances turned from intellectual and personal compatibility to matches

based on social and financial position. Material considerations prevailed and women began to work to "catch a man" conforming to some external ideal of the fulfilling life.

As the Revolutionary Era drew to a close, a constitution was written which did not "remember the ladies" (Abigail Adams' favored phrase). Women's work was not as much in demand as it had been previously and a code of ideal conduct for women which confined them to prescribed roles was developing rapidly.

PRIMARY SOURCES: REBEL WOMEN

The Letters of John and Abigail Adams

Due to lengthy separations during the war and the formation of the new country, Abigail and John Adams wrote extensively to each other. She repeatedly expressed her concern about the role women would play in the nation, and urged her husband not to overlook their legal status.

(to John Adams)
31 March 1776...In the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.

That your sex are naturally tyrannical is a truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute; but such of you as which to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of master for the more tender and endearing one of friend. Why, then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of sense in all ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vessels of your sex...

(to Abigail Adams)
14 April 1776...As to your extraordinary code of laws, I cannot but laugh. We have been told that our struggle has loosened the bonds of government everywhere; that children and apprentices were disobedient; that schools and colleges were grown turbulent; that Indians slighted their guardians and Negroes grew insolent to their masters. But your letter was the first intimation that another tribe, more numerous and powerful than all the rest, were grown discontented...

(to John Adams)
7 May 1776...I cannot say that I think you are very generous to the ladies; for, whilst you are proclaiming peace and good will to men, emancipating all nations, you insist upon retaining an absolute power over wives. But you must remember that arbitrary power is like most other things which are very hard, very liable to be broken; notwithstanding all your wise laws and maxims, we have it in our power, not only to free ourselves, but to subdue our masters and, without violence, throw both your natural and legal authority at our feet; - "Charm by accepting, by submitting sway, yet have our humor most when we obey."*

*Charles F. Adams, ed., **Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail Adams During the Revolution** (New York, 1875).

Thomas Paine, Feminist

While most people are aware of the eloquent, revolutionary writings of Thomas Paine, few people realize he was also an ardent feminist. This magazine article of 1775 expresses his attitudes about the oppression of women, which were considered very radical views at the time.

An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex

If we take a survey of ages and of countries, we shall find the women, almost without exception — at all times, and in all places, adored and oppressed. Man, who has never neglected an opportunity of exerting his power, in paying homage to their beauty, has always availed himself of their weakness. He has been at once their tyrant and their slave. [He describes the conditions of women in various parts of the world.] Even in countries where they may be esteemed most happy, constrained in their desires in the disposal of their goods, robbed of freedom of will by the laws, the slave of opinion, which rules them with absolute sway, . . . surrounded on all sides by judges, who are at once tyrants and their seducers, and who, after having prepared their faults, punish every lapse with dishonor . . . Who does not feel for the tender sex? Yet such, I am sorry to say, is the lot of women over the whole earth . . . Over three-quarters of the globe Nature has placed them between contempt and misery . . .

If a woman were to defend the cause of her sex, she might address [man] in the following manner:

'How great is your injustice? . . . Our duties are different from yours, but they are not therefore less difficult to fulfill, or of less consequence to society. They are the fountains of your felicity, and the sweeteners of life. We are wives and mothers. Its' we who form the union . . . of families . . . Permit our names to be some time pronounced, beyond the narrow circle in which we live . . . '*

*Pennsylvania Magazine, Vol. I (August, 1775).

The Traditional Image of Revolutionary Women

The following plaque, unveiled in Continental Village, New York, in 1921 represents what most people believe was the role of women during the Revolutionary War. This image does not accurately depict the vast contributions and sacrifices women made to the fight for independence.

1776-1783

A MILITARY POST AND DEPOT OF SUPPLIES
BURNED BY THE BRITISH OCTOBER 9, 1777

IN MEMORY OF
MOTHERS OF THE REVOLUTION
WHO WATCHED AND PRAYED WHILE OUR
FATHERS FOUGHT THAT WE MIGHT BE FREE

THEY ALSO SERVE WHO ONLY STAND AND WAIT

Colonial Women's Commitment to the War

During the Revolution, many women were outspoken and public about their beliefs. The following letter is from an anonymous woman, describing the typical sacrifices and commitment many women of the era made.

[Dear Sir]:

I will tell you what I have done. My only brother I have sent to the camp with my prayers and blessings. I hope he will not disgrace me; I am confident he will behave with honor, and [follow] the great examples he has before him; and had I twenty sons and brothers they should go. I have [stopped every extra] expense in my table and family; tea I have not drunk since last Christmas, nor bought a new cap or gown since your defeat at Lexington; and what I never did before, have learned to knit, and am now making stockings of American wool for my servants; and this way do I throw in my [little bit] to the public good. I know this — that as free I can die but once; but as a slave [to the British] I shall not be worthy of life. I have the pleasure to assure you that these are the sentiments of all my sister Americans. They have sacrificed assemblies, parties of pleasure, tea drinking and finery, to that great spirit of patriotism . . . If these are the sentiments of females, what must glow in the breasts of our husbands, brothers, and sons! They are as with one heart determined to die or be free...Heaven seems to smile on us . . . We are making powder fast, and do not want for ammunition.*

*Elizabeth Ellet, **The Women of the American Revolution** (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849), Vol. I.

Deborah Sampson, Revolutionary Soldier

Deborah Sampson was an indentured servant who lived a poor, hard life during colonial days. When the war began she disguised herself as a man and enlisted, fighting heroically for the Continental Army. Here is an excerpt from a contemporary biography describing her war experiences.

In March 1781 [this date has been questioned] the season being too rough to commence her excursion, she proposed to equip herself at her leisure: and then [decided on] the time for her departure. A handsome piece of cloth was to be put to a use, of which she little thought, during the time she was employed in manufacturing it...She made her[self] a genteel coat, waistcoat and breeches without any other assistance, than the uncouth patterns belonging to her former master's family. The other articles, hats, shoes, etc., were purchased under invented pretexts. [She seems to have had doubts about her plan and hesitated, then continued, traveling for several days.] She acted her part [in her travels]; and having a natural taste for refinement, she was every where received as a blithe, handsome and agreeable young gentleman...

In Bellingham, she met with a speculator; with whom . . . she engaged . . . as a Continential Soldier. Instead, then, of going to Boston, she went back and was immediately conducted to Worchester; where she was . . . enrolled by the name of Robert Shurtleff . . .

On May 13, she arrived at West Point in company with about fifty other soldiers, who were conducted there by a sergeant sent for that purpose. West Point was

then an important post, where was stationed a large division of the American army . . .

The second day, she drew a French fusee, a knapsack, cartridge box and thirty cartridges. Her next business was to clean her [weapon], and to exercise once every morning in the drill, and at four o'clock, p.m. on the grand parade. Her garb was exchanged for a uniform peculiar to the infantry . . .

Passing over many marches, forward and [back], and numberless incidental adventures and hardships peculiar to war, I come to other memoirs . . .

Sometime in June of this year, she, with two sergeants, requested leave of their Captain to retaliate on the enemy...for their outrageous insults to the inhabitants beyond their lines...near the close of the date they [began] their expedition . . .

About four in the morning . . . a severe combat [started]. The Americans found horses without riders; they had then light-horse and foot. Our [heroine] having previously become a good horseman, immediately mounted an excellent horse. [They pursued the enemy and fought with them]. The dauntless [Sampson] at this instant, thought she felt something warmer than sweat run down her neck. Putting her hand to the place, she found the blood gushed from the left side of head very freely. She said nothing; as she thought it no time to tell of wounds, unless mortal. Coming to a stand, she dismounted, but had not strength to walk, or stand alone. [She was also wounded in the thigh.]

She told one of the sergeants, she was so wounded, she chose rather to be left in that horrid place, than be carried any further. They all, as one, concluded to carry her, in case she could not ride. Here was her trial! A thousand thoughts and spectres at once darted before her. She had always thought she should rather die, than disclose her sex to the army! [She is hospitalized and in order to avoid discovery] she requested the favor of more medicine than she needed for her head; and taking an opportunity, with a penknife and needle, she extracted the [bullet] from her thigh...[She became a victim of an epidemic and is taken to a hospital again where she worries about discovery]. Doctor Bana...entered; and putting his hand in her bosom to feel her pulse, was surprised to find an inner waist-coat tightly compressing her breasts. Ripping it in haste, he was still more shocked, not only on finding [her alive] but the breasts and other tokens of a female. Immediately, she was removed into the Matron's own apartment...[She eventually is honorably discharged with no general awareness of her true sex.] *

*Herman Mann, **The Female Review: Life of Deborah Sampson** (Boston, 1797).

On Equality of the Sexes
by Constantia

Judith Sargent Murray received an unusual education, for she was allowed to study with her brother as he prepared for Harvard. She became an outspoken champion of equality for women, using the pen name Constantia in her many published essays and letters on improving women's rights.

May not the intellectual powers be ranged under these four heads — imagination, reason, memory, and judgment. The province of imagination hath long since been surrendered up to us, and we have been crowned undoubted sovereigns of fancy. Invention is perhaps the most arduous effort of the mind; this branch of imagination hath been particularly ceded to us, and we have been time out of mind invested with that creative faculty. Observe the variety of fashions (here I bar the contemptuous smile) which distinguish and adorn the female world; how continually they are changing, insomuch that they almost render the wise man's assertion problematical, and we are ready to say, there is something new under the sun. Now what a playfulness, what an exuberance of fancy, what strength of inventive imagination, doth this continual variation discover? Again, it hath been observed, that if the turpitude of the conduct of our sex, hath been ever so enormous, so extremely ready we are, that the very first thought presents with an apology, so plausible, as to produce our actions in an amiable light. Another instance of our creative powers is our talent for slander, how ingenious are we at inventive scandal? What a formidable story can we in a moment fabricate merely from the force of a prolific imagination? How many reputations, in the fertile brain of a female, have been utterly despoiled? How industrious are we at improving a hint? Suspicion how easily do we convert into conviction, and conviction, embellished by the power of eloquence, stalks abroad, to the surprise and confusion of unsuspecting innocence. Perhaps it will be asked if I furnish these facts as instances of excellency in our sex. Certainly not; but as proofs of a creative faculty of a lively imagination. Assuredly great activity properly directed, what beneficial effects would follow? Is the needle and kitchen sufficient to employ the operations of a soul thus organized? I should conceive not.

Now was she permitted the same instructions as her brother (with an eye however to their departments) for the employment of a rational mind an ample field would be opened. In astronomy she might catch a glimpse of the immensity of the Deity, and thence she would form amazing conception of the august and supreme Intelligence. A mind, thus filled would have little room for the trifles with which our sex are, with too much justice accused of amusing themselves, and they would thus be rendered fit companions for those, who should one day wear them as their crowns. Fashions, in their variety, would give lace to conjectures, which might perhaps conduce to the improvement of the literary world; and there would be no leisure for slander or detraction. Reputation would not be blasted, but serious speculations would occupy the lively imaginations of the sex. Unnecessary visits would be precluded, and that custom would be indulged by way of relaxation, or to answer the demands of consanguinity and friendship. Females would become discreet, and their judgments would be invigorated, and their partners for life being circumspectly chosen, an unhappy Hymen would then be as rare, as is now the reverse.

Should it still be vociferated. Your domestic employments are sufficient, I would calmly ask, is it reasonable, that a candidate for immorality, for the joys of heaven, an intelligent being, who is to spend an eternity in contemplating the

work of Deity, should at present be so degraded, as to be allowed no other ideas, than those which are suggested by the mechanism of a pudding, or the sewing the seams of a garment? Pity that all such censures of female improvement so not go one step further, and deny their future existence; to be consistent they surely ought.*

*Judith Sargent Murray, **The Gleaner** (Boston 1798).

III. EARLY 19th CENTURY WOMEN (1800-1860)

By the dawn of the 19th century a very distinct role for women had developed. Described by historian Barbara Welter as the "Cult of True Womanhood," the position of women in society was strictly outlined by cultural mores. The "ideal" woman of the early 1800s was clearly defined. As life grew most stable in the east, women were expected to remain at home, dress well, act properly, and in general, reflect their husband's position in society. Although this ideal contrasted sharply with the many women who were actually working in the mills, struggling to get an education, or fighting for rights for themselves and less fortunate Black men and women, it was the prevalent attitude. Women were expected to be "ladies" and were taught that "graceful and dignified refinement was the proper role for a true woman." Women were judged by their religious devotion, submissiveness, purity and their attention to their homes and families. **Godey's Lady's Book** provided the correct code of conduct of the day. It stated for example: "Sit not with another in a place that is too narrow; read not out of the same book; let not your eagerness to see anything induce you to place your head close to another person's." Girls who did not follow these rules were threatened with horrible reputations or worse yet, were ostracized from society. The downfall of these women was often illustrated in stories of the day.

British writer, Harriet Martineau, described the life of a lady with disgust: "While woman's intellect is confined, her morals crushed, her health maimed, her weakness encouraged and her strength punished, she is told that her lot is cast in the paradise of women and there is no country in the world where there is so much boasting on the "chivalrous" treatment she enjoys . . . Her husband's hair stands on end at the idea of her working . . . In short, indulgence is given her as a

Fashionable ladies from Godey's Lady's Book

substitute for justice." As time went on, a few people agreed with Martineau, and some decided, in spite of the risks, to become more active in the developing society. The movement for social reform attracted some of these women decades before the Civil War.

Between the American Revolution and the Civil War many women were actively working to help reform society and to break down barriers against participation of their sex in society. One area of grave concern to women in the early 19th century was education. The prevalent attitude of the period held that women's brains were smaller in capacity and biologically inferior to those of men. These ideas were fostered by men like the Swiss philoeopher J. J. Rousseau who said: "The whole education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown."

By 1800 girls were permitted to attend public elementary school and learn the educational basics. Although high schools existed, girls were not permitted to attend. Even such liberal cities as Boston and Philadelphia did not open their high schools to girls until after the Civil War. Once out of elementary school only private education was available and the price was prohibitive for most families. Studies for girls in "finishing schools" included embroidery, painting, singing and playing the harpsicord. Several women felt that curricular changes were necessary and there needed to be financial support for institutions of higher learning for women. Changes in attitudes and traditions were slow, but some women made impressive gains.

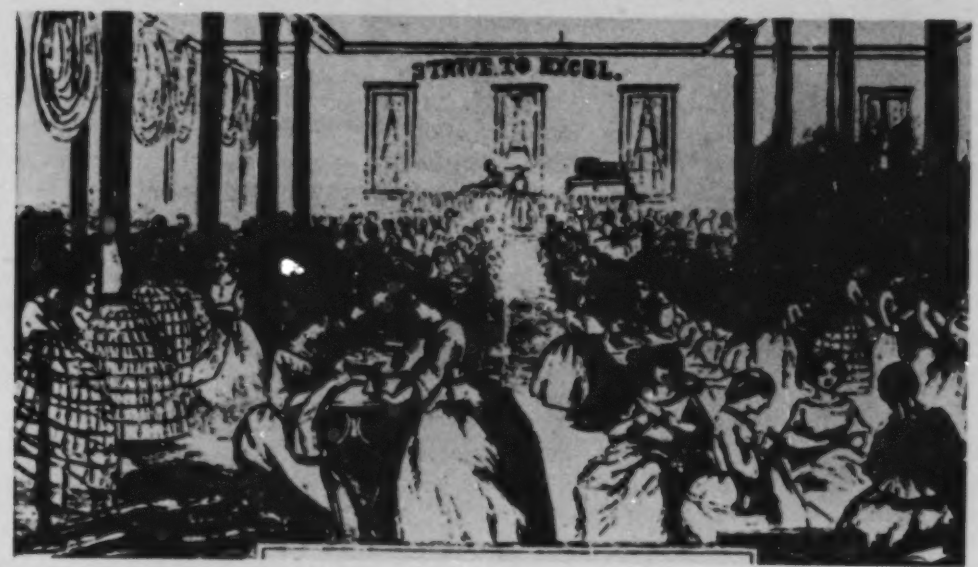
Emma Willard established a school in Middleburg, Vermont. The curriculum included philosophy, "domestic sciences," math, English, literature, history, geography and languages. Willard felt girls were capable of this and more and applied to various places for support for a new school for girls. Finally in 1821, she established the Troy Female Seminary, a high school for girls with the support of Governor Dewitt Clinton of New York (of Erie Canal fame). Girls attending the new school were expected to participate in a full academic schedule and to work to pay for their educational opportunities. Visitors to the school were impressed with the energy expended by the teachers and students, but were so shocked by revealing pictures of the anatomy of the circulatory system that Willard was forced to cover the offending diagrams with heavy brown paper on visiting days.

In 1833 Oberlin College in Ohio became the first institution to open its doors to all races, colors and sexes: "The education of the female character, bringing the reach of the misjudged and misguided sex all the instructive privileges which hitherto have unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs." Although at first women took a shortened course load, they were permitted a full load beginning in 1844. In spite of the increasing availability of higher education for women in the early 1800s the underlying assumption was that further education for women was simply to increase their usefulness as mothers and wives. Catherine Beecher (sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher) established teacher training institutions for women throughout the country before and after the Civil War. Although her schools shockingly taught physical education, the importance of fresh air and urged women to discard their corsets, Beecher's primary belief was that women's proper place was in the home. But, she felt, they should be educated for that pl[illegible]

In 1837 Mary Lyon founded Mt. Holyoke College with the assumption that: "Schools must have financial endowment, be available to all, offer advanced curriculum and (at last) prepare women for more than homemaking." With few exceptions in the early 1800s, women did not speak in public, travel or appear unescorted. The few women who broke these norms became somewhat notorious and at the least were objects of controversy. Yet in order to endow her school, Mary Lyon had to take to the lecture circuit herself. With her famous green velvet bag in hand she stumped the country for money. Although she was often refused housing and even pelted with rotten fruit for suggesting that contributions be made to a college for girls, she was successful. Mt. Holyoke opened in 1837 with courses including geometry, physiology and geology offered for the first time to women.

Schools established for Black girls encountered difficulties in both origin and in continued existence. In 1833 Prudence Crandall started a school for Black girls in Canterbury, Connecticut. Miss Crandall had run a school for girls in the town for many years. However, when she admitted a free Black girl, Sarah Harris, parental and town opinion were so adverse that she was forced to close the school. She then opened one for Black girls only. Crandall and her students were the objects of constants threats and legal battles. The Connecticut state legislature enacted a law to make it illegal to teach students from other states. As legal attempts to close the school failed, the determined town turned to violence. Windows were broken, pupils and teachers stoned, manure was dropped in the well, stores and doctors refused goods and services. Finally in 1834 her building was literally ramrodded by angry mobs. Miss Crandall, fearful for the lives of her students, closed her doors.

Unusual women also existed in areas outside the area of education. Margaret Fuller's father wanted to show the world that she was superior to any boy and taught her languages and classics. She was a brilliant woman and a leading Bostonian scholar. She became an editor of the literary journal **The Dial**, and in 1845 she became the first female reporter for the **New York Tribune**. By



Idealized version of women factory workers, 1840

Shoemakers' strike in Lynn, Mass., 1860

1840 at least 17 periodicals were being published in the United States and women were contributing to many of them. The most popular women's magazine remained to be Sarah Josphea Hale's **Godey's Lady's Book**. Hale is now best known as the author of "Mary Had A Little Lamb" but it is through her magazine that she influenced the lives of the more than 150,000 women who subscribed to it. Although she supported all the "true womanhood" concepts, she also advised women to seek higher education and train in a variety of occupations. Elizabeth Ellet found that few books described women's role in U.S. history. She researched and wrote extensively about women in the American Revolution and women in the exploration of the western territories. She was the first American historian to specialize in the role of women.

In the areas of health care and science, two famous women surfaced to leave significant impressions. Dorothea Dix was responsible for drastically needed reform in hospitals, asylums and other health care institutions that housed many poor people. Before her efforts for reform, people in institutions lived in filth, were often abused and degraded by the staff members. In 1847 Maria Mitchell, an astronomer from Nantucket, Massachusetts discovered a comet that was named after her. She became an astronomer because she lived in a whaling community where the stars were important for navigation. Her father, also an astronomer, encouraged her education. In 1848, she became the first woman elected to the American Academy for Arts and Sciences. It is interesting to note that women in whaling communities pursued more non-traditional tasks than women in most places. With the men absent for long periods of time women were encouraged more to venture into all essential tasks.

While many women were able to avail themselves of new educational and professional opportunities, many more joined the work force. Some of the first factories to hire women were the textile factories at Lowell, Massachusetts. Farm women, unafraid of hard work, were drawn to Lowell and other factory towns because they could earn spending money. They viewed it as a chance to get away from home. Women soon outnumbered men in the textile mills, and by

1850 comprised 24% of the labor force in all the manufacturing trades. Women were only permitted unskilled jobs and received no training. This ensured their inability to compete with men for jobs. Women's wages were only 25% that of their male co-workers. In 1833 women workers earned an average of $1.25 a week for six 15-16 hour days.

In the 1830s and '40s some short-lived women's labor organizations developed. The early organizations had no financial support from men, little contact with each other and few members with organizing skills. The first known labor strike which included women was in 1824 in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. The first strike of women alone was in Dover, New Hampshire in 1828. These strikes, both for higher wages, had minimal success. The first successful labor organization was in Lowell. In 1845 Sarah Bagley formed the Lowell Female Reform Association. The goals were improved working conditions, higher wages and better health conditions. Although many women were blacklisted for joining, Bagley wrote and spoke extensively, and in 1845 petitioned the Massachusetts legislature for a 10-hour work day for women. The committee which reviewed the petition called Bagley and her associates to testify. The first committee to hold a state investigation into labor conditions got an earful. The women told of air foul with poisonous fumes and sweat; rooms filled with 150 workers, 293 small lamps and workers falling sick from the fumes. In spite of all this, the committee ruled that such articulate women could easily take care of themselves and needed no legislative protection. After this, Bagley retired and there was no significant women's labor organization until after the turn of the century.

Although concerns of working women (equal pay and shorter hours) would not greatly affect the women's movement for years to come and labor women would not travel the road from abolitionist societies to women's rights, the factory girls must be considered pioneers in the mutual cause.

New paths did lead women into the areas of public concern. The suffering of Black slaves touched the hearts of many women and they lent support to the abolitionist movement. The anti-slavery societies provided entrance into political life for women. Here for the first time they learned to organize, attend and chair meetings, debate and circulate petitions in the face of resistance of men, media and most other women. The involvement of women in the abolitionist movement was to change attitudes about women's proper sphere of activity for the public at large. More importantly, it helped many women begin to evolve a new philosophy about their place in society and their basic rights.

In 1833 the country's leading abolitionists met in Philadelphia to form the American Anti-Slavery Society. A few women were permitted to enter and even speak but not join. Outraged, the women boldly formed their own abolitionist organizations. The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society first met in 1834 and went national in 1837 with a convention in New York. Women at anti-slavery meetings were subjected to mobs who didn't like abolitionists, let alone female ones. These women ran much of the underground railroad, put up escaped slaves in transit and answered sheriffs' questions with great risks to themselves and their families.

Sarah and Angelina Grimke were among the first women to brave public censure for speaking out publicly. The sisters had grown up in South Carolina

and had vivid and bitter memories about slavery. Sarah remembered visiting a friend whose runaway slave had been recaptured. She had been whipped brutally, had a heavy iron collar with three prongs attached to it around her neck and had one of her teeth extracted as punishment. Sarah recalled her shock as her friend chatted calmly over tea while the suffering woman labored nearby. The Grimkes were attacked extensively by even their own church, not only on the issue of slavery but because they were women speaking out in public. They realized that their effectiveness as speakers was undermined by popular sexist attitudes resulting in their being the first to link the cause of women's rights and that of abolition. Although male abolitionist leaders feared the women would distract from the cause, the Grimkes continued their efforts. In 1838 Angeline presented an anti-slavery petition to the Massachusetts State legislature and became the first women in history to speak before a legislative body. These petitions now lie by the thousands, yellow and old, in the basement of the National Archives.

The activities of Black women lent an added dimension to the abolitionist cause. There were numerous cases of slave women who, as living testimonials to hatred of slavery, devoted their lives to the institution's destruction. Women like Harriet Tubman are legendary. Tubman was five feet tall, with piercing eyes. She usually wore a turban to hide the deep scar in her skull left by an overseer who threw an iron weight at her when she was 15. Born a slave in Maryland, she escaped in 1849 at her master's death. At 30 years old, from her station in Philadelphia, she because the most famous conductor of the underground railroad. In ten years she made 19 journeys, rescued some 300 slaves and literally became the "Moses" to her people. Southern slave holders acknowledged her success by placing an unheard of $40,000 reward for her capture.

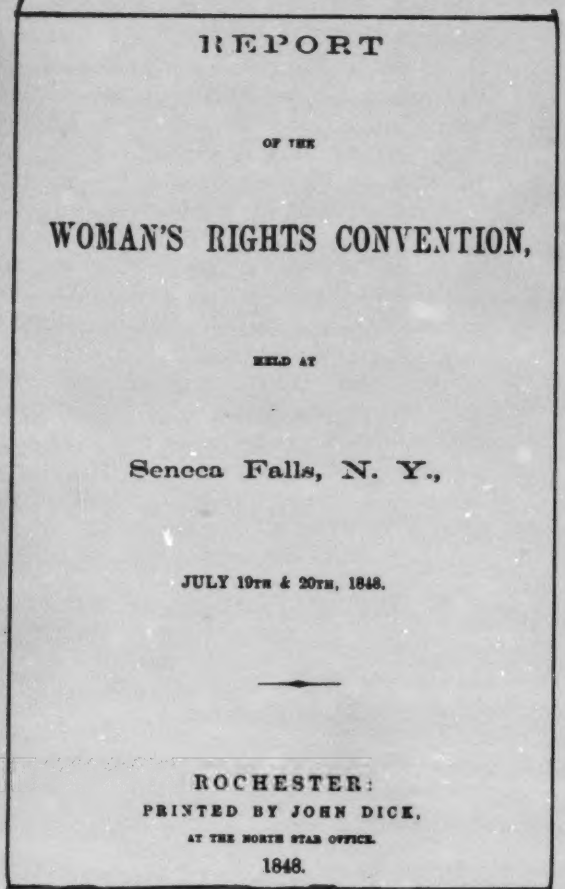
"I had reasoned this out in my mind, there was two things I had a right to, liberty and death. If I could not have one I would have the other, for no man should take me alive."
—Harriet Tubman (left) with escaped slaves she assisted in the 1850's

Another well-known abolitionist was Sojourner Truth. Truth was born as the slave Isabella in New York and was emancipated when New York outlawed slavery in 1837. In a religious fervor which followed, she renamed herself and worked to free other slaves. Mary Ann Cary, a free native of Delaware, taught school in Wilmington until the Fugitive Slave Law went into effect. She then moved and published a newspaper in Windsor, Ontario until the war was over. Katy Ferguson taught school for the poor in New York City and Sarah Douglass was the first Black woman appointed as a public school teacher in Philadelphia.

Women had an effect not only on the nature and impact of the abolitionist movement but on their own futures. Changes in education and labor, and the increasing involvement and training of women in the abolitionist cause were excellent training for a women's rights movement.

At the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London, two abolitionist women met and the course of women's rights was altered. Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, attending the convention with their husbands, were refused admittance to the convention floor. As they watched from the galleries and paced the streets of London, they pondered their rejection and fate. Lucretia Mott was born in 1793 in a small Maine fishing village. Long absences

Sojurner Truth with the daughter of a close friend



REPORT

OF THE

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION,

HELD AT

Seneca Falls, N. Y.,

JULY 19TH & 20TH, 1848.

ROCHESTER:
PRINTED BY JOHN DICK,
AT THE NORTH STAR OFFICE.
1848.

The official beginning of the American women's movement

of men forced women to be very self-reliant. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, born in 1815, grew up in and around her father's law practice and had frequently been exposed to the legal ill-treatment of women. Mott would become the symbolic mother of the new movement and Stanton its chief philosopher.

Back in the United States, the Stantons settled in a small upstate New York town, Seneca Falls. The two women corresponded frequently and met again in 1848. Mrs. Stanton, now with young children, poured out her frustrations with housework, isolation from friends and children's ailments. In response, Mrs. Mott and three cousins decided on the need for a convention of women to discuss the matters of women's rights.

Seated around a mahogany table (now in the Smithsonian) the women wrote an announcement of their intended convention: "Women's rights convention to discuss the social, civil and religious rights of women will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, Seneca Falls, New York, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 19th and 20th of July current; commencing at 10:00 a.m. During the first day the meeting will be held exclusively for women and the public is invited on the second."

Mrs. Mott and her cousins then left Mrs. Stanton to prepare a "Declaration" to present to the convention. In a superb move Mrs. Stanton patterned the Declaration after the more popular Declaration of Independence. July 19, 1848 dawned hot and clear. Women came from 50 miles around and a total of 350 people attended and listened to what the women in Seneca Falls had to say. The first women's rights convention had drawn quite a crowd. One women at the convention, 19-year-old factory worker Charlotte Woodward, lived to vote in the first national election open to women in 1920.

Mrs. Stanton's Declaration of Sentiments was accepted, including a very radical resolution that women be given the right to vote. The Seneca Falls convention had world-wide impact. Women and men in the United States and foreign countries reacted to the various notions that women at Seneca Falls started the wheels turning, and women began to rally around the cause of women's rights. By 1851, women's rights conventions were being held annually. The goals of the women's movement at this point focused primarily on increased legal rights for women, particularly control of property and earnings and increased opportunities for education. Practically all these efforts were from northern women. Southern women were expected to conform to such specific roles that few varied from those prescribed.

PRIMARY SOURCES: 19TH CENTURY LADIES & EARLY REFORMERS

Godey's Lady's Book

*Considered "the only periodical in the Republic devoted solely to the mental, moral, and religious improvement of Women," **Godey's Lady's Book** was widely read. It contributed to and was a mirror of the values, looks, and interests of the "ladies" of the time. The following excerpt is a typical example of issues and attitudes that editor, Sarah Josephea Hale, maintained throughout its years of publication.*

"Matrimony"

"Is she engaged?" — "Is he paying attention to anyone?" — "When will they be married?" Such are the questions, which are invariably heard wherever there is a gathering together of "grown up children" of the present day. Matrimony, love and courtship, form the standing subjects of conversation . . . Mothers talk to their daughters of their chances of matrimony; and fathers reckon up in the presence of their children, the amount of Bank Stock, or the acres of landed property, which are respectively held by their different visitors, neighbors or acquaintances; and having ascertained to a mathematical certainty, the wealthiest of the number, invariably recommend him or her as a prize worth seeking after. The first — we had almost said — the only, definite idea which a young women just entering upon her teens can boast of, is that she must be married — some time or other — to somebody or other — married well, if she can —poorly if she must — but at all events married she must be . . . .

Why should the young and beautiful so soon learn to fix her thoughts with an all-engrossing interest upon this subject — to speculate and devise plans for what is usually termed "marrying well," — which, being interpreted, signifies marrying a large estate —a handsome house — without much regard to the person of the intellect necessarily appended to these desirable commodities? And what is marriage after all! A leap in the dark — a launching out upon an untried ocean . . . .

Marriage too often takes place before the parties have been able to fully understand each other — before the guarded reserve . . . of courtship [has] passed away and given place to the frank impulses of nature and feeling . . . .

[illegible]ot for money, marry for love. Aye — and starve for it too . . . Love is a very good thing in its proper place. It will do very well — to talk of, especially in the [dawdling] hour of a moonlight evening, when the perfect stars are looking down from above. Love sounds well in theory — it is beautiful in practice — it reads well in romance — it is the soul of poetry. Love is a blessed thing in the halls of affluence — or even of competence — but it is the mortal enemy of poverty . . . .

Call money if you please the "root of all evil." In the present state of society, it is the very mainspring of existence, . . . Love, without it, is but a beautiful delusion. It can neither boil the pot, nor pay for its savory contents. It cannot look unconcerned in the face of a dun, or escape the visitation of the Sheriff. It cannot shorten the long face of the doctor by the prompt payment of his longer bill. It cannot move the sympathy of the landlord, or reconcile the lawyer to the loss of his fee. It is an old, but we fear a true saying, "When Poverty comes in at the door Love goes out at the window."*

*Godey's Lady's Book, September, 1831.

"Proper Conduct of the Wife Toward Her Husband"

Samuel Jennings 1808

This is taken from "The Married Lady's Companion, or Poor Man's Friend." It is an example of a 19th century guide to morals and to manners, combining sermonizing with advice on health and hygiene.

1. As it is your great wish to and interest, to enjoy much of your husband's company and conversation, it will be important to acquaint yourself with his temper, his inclination and his manner, that you may render your house, your person and your disposition quite agreeable to him.

2. Under the present circumstances, it is your interest to adapt yourself to your husband whatever his peculiarities. Again, nature has made him the stronger, the consent of mankind has given him superiority over his wife, his inclination is to claim his natural and acquired rights. He, of course, expects from you a degree of condescension for this makes him more sure of his natural claim.

3. In obedience then to this you ought to cultivate a cheerful and happy submission.

4. The great attentions practiced by most men in time of courtship are well calculated to raise in the female mind, false expectations of a uniform continuance of the same officiousness after marriage. For the honeymoon you may not be disappointed. But afterwards, the charge of a family will teach any man he has more to do than carry on a courtship.

5. If any thoughts against this new behavior come to mind, check them. If indulged they will have a baneful effect on your temper and spread a gloom on your countenance so as to strip you of every charm.

6. If he does not come in the very hour or day that you expect him, instead of accusing him with neglect, be the considerate woman and take into view the various unavoidable delays with which he must meet in transacting his business.

The Hard Life of the Female Slave

Fanny Kemble was a renown English actress of the early 19th century. She married Pierce Butler, a Georgian plantation owner in 1834 before discovering he owned 700 slaves. Kemble staunchly opposed slavery once witnessing the institution, and her opposition to it led to her divorce. The following description is an excerpt from a letter written to friend during her stay on the plantation in 1838 and 1839.

Before closing this letter, I have a mind to transcribe to you the entries for today recorded in a sort of a daybook, where I put down very [briefly] the number of people who visit me, their petitions and ailments, and also such special particulars concerning them as seem to me worth recording. You will see how miserable the physical conditions of many of these poor creatures is; and their physical conditions, it is insisted by those who uphold this evil system, is

the only part of it which is prosperous, happy, and compares well with that of Northern laborers. Judge from the details I now send you; and never forget, while reading them, that the people on this plantation are well off, and consider themselves well off, in comparison with the slaves on some of the neighboring estates.

Fanny has had six children; all dead but one. She came to beg to have her work in the field lightened.

Nanny has had three children; two of them are dead. She came to implore that the rule of sending them into the field three weeks after their confinement might be altered.

Leah, Caesar's wife, has had six children; three are dead.

Sophy, Lewis' wife, came to beg for some old linen. She is suffering fearfully; has had ten children; five of them are dead. The principal favor she asked was a piece of meat, which I gave her.

Sarah, Stephen's wife; this woman's case and history were alike deplorable. She had had four miscarriages, had brought seven children into the world, five of whom are dead, and was again with child. She complained of dreadful pains in the back, and an internal tumor which swells with the exertion of working in the fields; probably, I think, she is ruptured. She told me she had once been mad and had run into the woods, where she contrived to elude discovery for some time, but was at last tracked and brought back, when she was tied up by the arms, and heavy logs fastened to her feet, and was severely flogged . . .

. . . There was hardly one of these women, as you will see by the details I have noted of their ailments, who might not have been a candidate for a bed in a hospital, and they had come to me after working all day in the fields . . .

. . . Another of my visitors had a still more dismal story to tell; her name was Die; she had had sixteen children, fourteen of whom were dead; she had had four miscarriages; one had been caused with falling down with a very heavy burden on her head, and one from having her arms strained up to be lashed. I asked her what she meant by having her arms tied up. She said their hands were first tied together, sometimes by the wrists, and sometimes, which was worse, by the thumbs, and they were then drawnup to a tree or post, so as almost to swing them off the ground, and then their clothes rolled around their waist, and a man with a cowhide stands and stripes them. I give you the woman's words. She did not speak of this as of anything strange, unusual, or especially horrid and abominable; and when I said: "Did they do that to you when you were a child?" she simply replied: "Yes, missis." And to all this I listen — I, an Englishwoman, the wife of a man who owns these wretches, — and I cannot say: "That thing shall not be done again; that cruel shame and villainy shall never be known here again.". . . *

*Frances Ann Kemble, **Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation, in 1838-1839** (New York: Harper and Bros., 1863).

Conditions In the Mills

In the 1840s it became evident that conditions in the mill towns were not as great as they were pictured. The Female Labor Reform Association was organized in Lowell, Massachusetts and began a petition campaign to gain legislation restricting the work day to ten hours. The following testimony was delivered before the Massachusetts legislature, which eventually decided it was unnecessary to regulate labor conditions.

...The petitioners declare that they are confined "from 13 to 14 hours per day in unhealthy apartments," and are thereby "hastening through pain, disease and privation, down to a premature grave." They therefore ask the Legislature "to pass a law providing that ten hours shall constitute a day's work," and that no corporation or private citizen "shall be allowed, except in cases of emergency, to employ one set of hands more than ten hours per day." . . . .

The whole number of names on the several petitions is 2,139, of which 1,151 are from Lowell. A very large Proportion of the Lowell petitioners are females. Nearly one half of the Andover [another mill town] are females. The petition from Fall River is signed exclusively by males.

. . . On the 13th of February, the Committee held a session to hear the petitioners from the city of Lowell. Six of the females and three of the male petitioners were present, and gave in their testimony.

The first petitioner who testified was Eliza R. Hemmingway. She has worked 2 years and 9 months in the Lowell factories; 2 years in the Middlesex, and 9 months in the Hamilton Corporations. Her employment is weaving, — works by the piece . . . She is now at work in the Middlesex mills and attends one loom. Her wages average from $16-$23 a month exclusive of board [good for the period]. She complained of the hours for labor being too many, and the time for meals too limited. In the summer season, the work is commenced at 5 o'clock, a.m., and continued til 7 o'clock, p.m., with half an hour for breakfast and three quarters of an hour for dinner. During eight months of the year, but half an hour is allowed for dinner. The air in the room she considered not to be wholesome. There were 293 small lamps and 61 large lamps lighted in the room in which she worked, when evening work is required. These lamps are also lighted sometimes in the morning. About 130 females, 11 men, and 12 children (between the ages of 11 and 14) work in the room with her . . . she thinks that there is no day when there are less than six of the females out of the mill, from sickness. Has known as many as thirty. She, herself, is out quite often, on account of sickness . . . She thought there was a general desire among the females to work but ten hours, regardless of pay..

[The Legislative Committee examined the mills and reported that the health of the operatives and their working conditions were good.]

. . . we have come to the conclusion unanimously, that legislation is not necessary at the present time . . .

The Committee do not wish to be understood as conveying the impression, that there are no abuses in the present system of labor; we think there are abuses;...

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We think it would be better if the hours for labor were less, — if more time was allowed for meals, if more attention was paid to ventilation . . .We acknowledge all this, but we say, the remedy is not with us. We look for it in the progressive improvement of art and science, in a higher appreciation of man's destiny, in a less love for money, and in a more ardent love for social happiness and intellectual superiority . . .*

*Massachusetts General Court Legislature Documents, #50, 1845.

Declaration of Sentiments

Seneca Falls, New York

The convention in Seneca Falls on July 19, 1848 marked the official beginning of the suffrage movement. The Declaration of Sentiments was unanimously adopted as the philosophy of the movement.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. When ever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experiences hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses are usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object even as a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance for the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward women, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let the facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the selective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formulation of which she has no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men — both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the selective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property , even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master — the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women — the law, in all cases, going on the false assumption of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognized her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she received but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry and with some exceptions from any public participation in the affairs of the state.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquents which exclude women from society are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in men.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehova himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her god.

He has endeavored in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and object life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one half of the people of this country, their social and religious degradation - in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed and frauduently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the grant work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the state and national legislatures and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this convention will be followed by a series of conventions embracing every part of the country.

Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True we do this day affix our signatures to this declarations.

Lucretia Mott
Harriet Cady Eaton
Margaret Pryor
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Eunice Newton Foote

Seneca Falls Resolutions

Elizabeth Cady Stanton also drafted the following set of resolutions outlining specific changes such as removal of legal and educational limitations on women. Most radical and controversial was the demand for the vote. Stanton argued ardently for the vote as did abolitionist and supporter of women's rights, Frederick Douglass. All of the resolutions were adopted by the Convention, though the call for the vote only narrowly passed.

Whereas, The great precept of nature is conceded to be, that "man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." Blackstone in his commentaries remarks, that his law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore;

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behvaior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and preverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilties.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and uniting efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

Emma Willard

Believing that women were denied adequate educational opportunities, Emma Willard worked towards establishment of schools that would provide women with a wide range of subjects. In her speech to the New York legislature she encouraged formation of schools that would teach geography, science, domestic skills, music, and other courses to women. An excerpt of her speech follows, explaining how expanded education would be beneficial to women and society.

Benefits of Providing for Female Education

1. Females, by having their understandings cultivated, their reasoning powers developed and strengthened, may be expected to act more from the dictates of reason, and less from those of fashion and caprice.

2. With minds thus strengthened they would be taught systems of morality, enforced by the sanctions of religion; and they might be expected to acquire juster and more enlarged views of their duty...

3. This plan of education, offers all that can be done to preserve female youth from a contempt of useful labor. The pupils would become accustomed to it...and it is to be hoped...that they might in future life, regard it as respectable.

   To this is may be added, that if housewifery could be raised to a regular art, and taught upon philosophical principles, it would become a higher and more interesting occupation...

4. By being enlightened in moral philosophy, and in that, which teaches the operations of the mind, females would be enabled to perceive the nature and extent, of that influence, which they possess over their children, and the obligation, which this lays them under, to watch the formation of their characters with increasing vilgilance...*

*Emma Willard, **Address to the Public** (Middlebury, 1819).

Sojourner Truth: "Ain't I a Woman?"

At the 1851 Woman's Rights Convention in Ohio, Sojourner Truth, an ex-slave, made an enormous impact on the upper and middle-class audience. Here is the remembrance of the famous speech as recorded by Frances D. Gage, president of the convention.

The leaders of the movement trembled on seeing a tall, gaunt, Black woman in a gray dress and white turban, surmounted with an uncouth sun-bonnet, march deliberately into the church, walk with the air of a queen up the aisle, and take her seat upon the pulpit steps. A buzz of disapprobation was heard all over the house, and there fell on the listening ear, "An abolition affair!" "Woman's rights and niggers!" "I told you so!" "Go it, darkey!"

I chanced on that occasion to wear my first laurels in public life as president of the meeting. At my request order was restored, and the business of the Convention went on.

. . . Again and again, timorous and trembling ones came to me and said, with earnestness, "Don't let her speak, Mrs. Gage, it will ruin us. Every newspaper in the land will have our cause mixed up with abolition and niggers, and we shall be utterly denounced." My only answer was, "We shall see when the time comes."

The second day the work waxed warm. Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Universalist ministers came in to hear and discuss the resolutions presented. One claimed superior rights and privileges for man, in the ground of "superior intellect;" another, because of the "manhood of Christ; if God had desired the equality of woman, He would have given some token of His will through the birth, life, and death of the Savior." Another gave us a theological view of the "sin of our first mother."

There were very few women in those days who dared to "speak in meeting;" and the august teachers of the people were seemingly getting the better of us, while the boys in the galleries, and the sneerers among the pews, were hugely enjoying the discomfiture, as they supposed, of the "strong-minded.". . . When, slowly from her seat in the corner rose Sojourner Truth, who till now, had scarcely lifted her head. "Don't let her speak! " gasped half a dozen in my ear. She moved slowly and solemnly to the front, laid her old bonnet at her feet, and turned her great speaking eyes to me. There was a hissing sound of disapprobation above and below. I rose and announced "Sojourner Truth," and begged the audience to keep silence for a few moments.

The tumult subsided at once, and every eye was fixed on this almost Amazon form, which stood nearly six feet high, head erect, and eyes piercing the upper air like one in a dream. At her first word there was a profound hush. She spoke in deep tones, which, though not loud, reached every ear in the house, and away through the throng at the doors and windows.

"Wall, chilern, whar dar is so much racket dar must be somethin' out o' kilter. I tink dat 'twixt de niggers of de Souf and de womin of de Norf, all talkin' 'bout

right, de white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all dis here talkin' 'bout?

"Dat man ober dar say dat womin needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted ober ditches, and to hab de best place everywhar. Nobody eber helps me into carriages, or ober mud-puddles, or gibs me any best place!" And raising herself to her full height, and her voice to a pitch like rolling thunder, she asked. "And a'n't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! (and she bared her right arm to the shoulder, showing her tremendous muscular power). I have ploughed, and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And a'n't I a woman? I could work as much and et as much as a man -when I could get it - and bear de lash as well! And a'n't I a woman? I have borne thirteen chilern, and seen 'em mos' all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And a'n't I a woman?

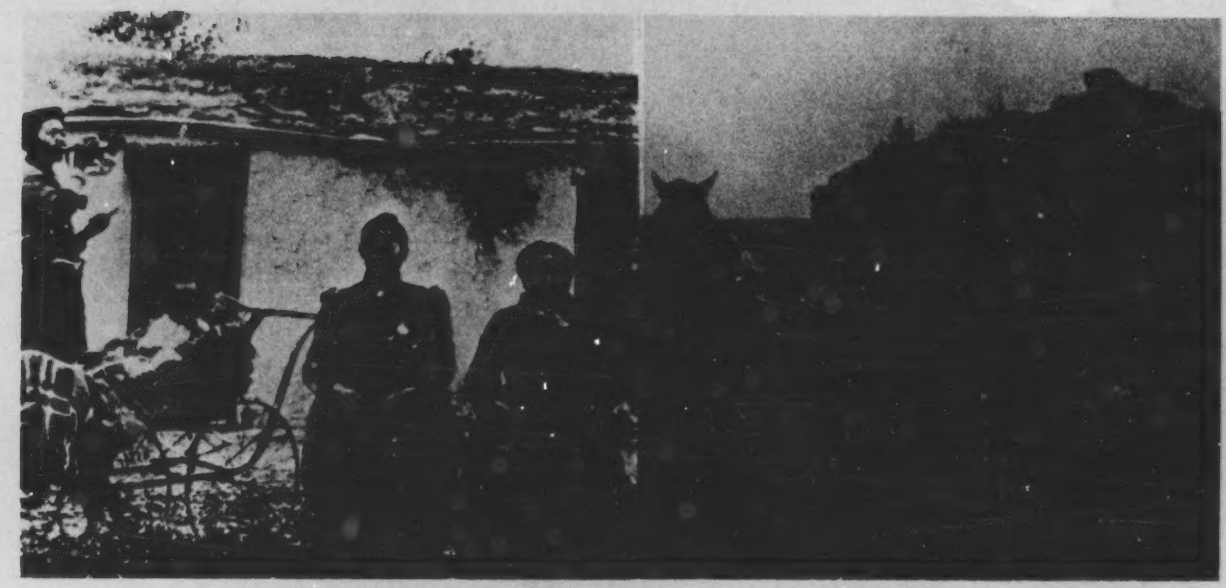
"Den dey talks 'bout dis ting in de head; what dis dey call it?" "Intellect," whispered some one near. "Dat's it, honey. What's dat got to do wid womin's rights or nigger's rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yourn holds a quart, wouldn't ye be mean not to let me have my little half-measure full?" And she pointed her significant finger, and sent a keen glance at the minister who had made the argument. The cheering was long and loud.

"Den dat little man in black dar, he say women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wan't a woman! Whar did your Christ come from?" Rolling thunder couldn't have stilled that crowd, as did those deep, wonderful tones, as she stood there with outstretched arms and eyes of fire. Raising her voice still louder, she repeated, "War did your Christ come from? From God and woman! Man had nothin' to do wid Him."

Turning again to another objector, she took up the defense of Mother Eve. Eliciting at almost every sentence deafening applause; and she ended by asserting: "If de fust woman God ever made was strong enough to turn de world upside down all alone, dese women togedder (and she glanced her eye over the platform) ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now dey is asking to do it, de men better let 'em." Long-continued cheering greeted this. " 'Bleeged to ye for hearin' on me, and now ole Sojourner han't got nothin' more to say."

Amid roars of applause, she returned to her corner, leaving more than one of us with streaming eyes, and hearts beating with gratitude. She had taken us up in her strong arms and carried us safely over the slough of difficulty, turning the whole tide in our favor. I have never in my life seen anything like the magical influence that subdued the mobbish spirit of the day, and turned the sneers and jeers of an excited crowd into notes of respect and admiration. Hundreds rushed up to shake hands with her, and congratulate the glorious old mother, and bid her God-speed on her mission of "testifyin' agin concerning the wickedness of this 'ere people."

IV. PIONEER AND NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN



Homesteaders in Nebraskan sod houses included freed blacks (left) and some single women.

Most women in the East were beginning to enter the labor force, take advantage of educational opportunities or become "ideal" ladies. Others were pulling up stakes and traveling west with husbands and fathers. A few traveled alone in quest of personal adventure. Both women and men had a variety of reasons to try life in the new West. Adventure, inexpensive land, increased individual freedom and potential jobs in growing settlements (such as those springing up as a result of the California Gold Rush) were common reasons to make the risky choice. Many young men and women also traveled west to become teachers and missionaries.

Women traveled west often for economic opportunities. Florida Washburn arrived in California shortly after the Gold Rush and made thousands of dollars washing miners' laundry. Others were missionaries. Eliza Spalding taught religion and knitting to the Nez Perce Indians. Still others sought excitement and adventure. Jane Barnes, described as a woman of "loose morals," was the first white woman to set foot on the West Coast when she joined a fur trading station in 1814.

Many Black women traveled west, most often as slaves. Often they gained their freedom in the frontier territories where slavery was not legal. They became homesteaders, farmers, taught school or ran businesses. Mrs. Joe Scott founded the first school for Blacks in Alameda County, California. Mary Ann Israel Ash mortgaged her home in order to buy slaves and set them free. One of the best known Black women of the West was Biddy Mason, who gained her freedom in Los Angeles, became a nurse and did extensive charity work. She died both wealthy and famous.

To migrate west was a difficult ordeal, as the trails were rough and the obstacles nearly insurmountable. Wild rivers, deserts and the Rocky Mountains all had to be crossed in the journey that took about five months. Women and men worked side by side to 'break' the often untrained oxen who hauled the wagons, and drive the heavy loads over the rough territory. Once the pioneers reached their destination, the hard work really began. The wilderness land had to be cleared of trees and rocks so homes and farms could be built. The building of a homestead was a challenge as supplies were limited to only those things the pioneers brought with them and the available local resources. Wood cabins and houses were built in the forest areas and sod houses in the prairies.

Living in the new frontier meant giving up many of the luxuries of eastern life. Common objects like nails, thread, soap and cloth had to be made by hand. Towns and stores were few in the Old West meaning that the pioneers had to rely on their own resourcefulness. Loneliness was often overwhelming as the settlements were usually miles apart and visits to neighbors were rare. Everyone living on the frontier had to pull his or her own weight. Men and women shared the work tasks and reponsibilities equally. Children too were expected to work hard, long hours in the fields or businesses. Children were considered a source of free labor as large families were able to spread the workload a little thinner.

The frontier experience had a democratizing effect on those who tackled it. Because women filled such responsible, demanding roles in the West, coping with the same hardships and challenges as the men, they were in a powerful position when they demanded equal rights. They had proved themselves capable and self-reliant, so that opponents to equal rights had difficulty arguing otherwise. In 1869 Wyoming became the first territory to grant suffrage to women, many years ahead of the first eastern state. But beyond an egalitarian philosophy in the West lay another reason for the early suffrage rights. Due to the comparably small population in Wyoming, granting women the vote in state elections increased the number of voters, a statistic used in many federal equations, including Congressional representation.

Life remained the same for generations in the Native American cultures, steeped in ceremony and tradition. With the arrival of European settlers, who asserted their dominance and lust for land, the Indians were forced to move their homes futher west, abandoning their traditional lives. The hunters and gatherers of the Eastern Woodlands and Great Lakes who met the first white settlers around 1650 were pushed into the Great Plains within a hundred years.

Within Native American cultures, the woman's role was varied and required many skills. The woman was reponsible for the care of the children and of the home. Usually she was required to build the home, whether it be skin tipi, grass and bark hut, or adobe pueblo. She also manufactured the tools necessary for her family's life: horn spoons, baskets, pots, knives, needles, and stone bowls for grinding corn or flour. It was not unusual though for a woman to share in leadership and medicine roles, especially if her husband was in a powerful position. In the matrilineal Navajo tribe, women were often the leaders, as the Navajo did not place any restrictions on a person because of their sex. Navajo people chose their roles on the pure basis of interests and abilities. The Iroquois were matrilineal also, though only men served as leaders. The tribes' women selected the leader and decided when an old leader was to be replaced. They also determined all war decisions.

Cayuse woman of the Plains, showing traditional crafts - deerskin dress decorated with porcupine quills, and beads, her hat and left hand bag are basketry, the right handbag is beadwork.

An annual average of 50 buffalo a hunting season was killed and prepared by each Great Plains family during the buffalo era. After the hunter made a kill, the deer, bison, etc., became the woman's responsibility and property. She was a skillful butcher and prepared the meat for cooking or storage for later consumption. Skins were tanned and hides and bones were made into necessary clothes or tools such as shirts, robes, tipis, water pouches or moccasins, needles and cooking utensils.

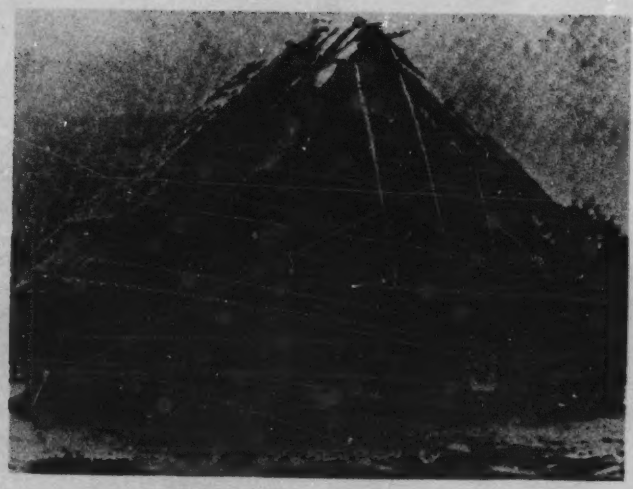
The women were also responsible for gathering the wild foods that made up much of their diet. This meant they were expert botanists. Cherokee women, from what are now the Carolinas, knew and used more than 800 species of plants for food, medicine, and crafts.

Often the production of the necessities of life also provided Native Americans with avenues of personal creativity. The designs Indian women used in their woven cloth, baskets, rugs, and pottery were beautiful and elaborate. The Pueblo, Navajo, Hopi, and Apache tribes are famous for their crafts. In some tribes, the designs are handed down from generation to generation.

Women were also the farmers of the tribes, cultivating many different crops. The Pawnee of the Great Plains grew ten varieties of corn, seven kinds of squash, and eight different types of beans. Because the Plains tribes followed the summer migration of the buffalo, the crops were planted before their nomadic journey to follow the herds. By early autumn the Pawnee would return to their original camps to harvest the mature crops.

The roles learned by Indian girls were not limited to household chores. Often they made fish and animal traps, rope, mats, baskets, and beads. Apache maidens learned to care for the tribes' horses and became skilled riders. They were urged to develop their physical strength and endurance, and also become expert swimmers.

As boys and girls matured, they moved into courtship and marriage. All tribes had strict rules for correct conduct during this time, but there were many similarities between tribal customs. The approved way for most Indian young people to meet was at tribal social dances. Unmarried girls usually were chaperoned to these dances by an older relative, or in some cases by their younger siblings. If a young man were interested in a particular girl, he would arrange to be at the dance she attended, but the first move was usually up to the



A Hopi woman (left) with the traditional butterfly whorl hairstyle indicating she is marriageable and has mastered the necessary skills of food preparation. A Sauk hogan of the 1880's built of elmbark (right).

girl. Every dance was ladies' choice, though some girls were too shy to face the boys when asking them to dance. In the Sioux tribe, a girl invited a boy to dance by kicking the sole of his moccasin.

If a young boy and girl became attracted during a dance, the girl of the Sioux tribe could invite the boy to meet her in front of her family tipi; but because of the number of people usually around there was very little privacy. It was common to see the two young people standing close together with their heads covered by the boy's blanket, so they could talk privately. Young men and women of the Omahas were not permitted to meet or speak together publicly. If a young man liked a particular girl he would try to signal her when she was away from camp gathering wild plants or doing other chores. He would get dressed up and hide in the bushes near a spot he knew she would pass. When she came near he would play a particular tune on his flute. The tunes were original and whenever a girl heard her boyfriend's special tune she knew he was near. In most tribes the final decisions on the marriage were made by the parents. There was usually extensive gift-giving between the two families, and often there were elaborate ceremonies.

In many Indian cultures it was believed important for individuals to seek out a special guardian spirit for themselves. The Potawatomi and other Great Lakes tribes sent young men and women of about 15 to a secluded spot where they built a small wigwam. Here, the person would fast for about 10 days, and meditate in the hopes that a guardian spirit would visit them. People who had these dream visions would be adopted into the protection of the spirit for the rest of their lives and often received elevated status in the tribe.

Ritual music and dances played an important role in many Native American cultures. These were usually connected with fertility, bountiful hunts and harvests, and good health. For example, the Iroquois, the native inhabitants of what we call New York and Massachusetts, had no ceremonies to commemorate war. Rather, their dances were considered a religious rite and divine art so that they were usually a combination of sacred and social celebration.

PRIMARY SOURCES: WOMEN MOVE WEST

Sacajawea

A Shoshone Indian, Sacajawea was won in a gambling game by the interpreter of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Charbonneau. As the explorations would travel through Shoshone territory, Lewis and Clark considered her a valuable member of their expedition. These excerpts from the diaries of the journey show the important assistance she provided the explorers.

April 9, 1805

When we halted for dinner the squaw [Sacajawea] busied herself in searching for the wild artichokes which the mice collect and deposit in large hordes. This operation she performed by penetrating the earth with a sharp stick about some small collections of driftwood. Her labor soon proved successful, and she procured a good quantity of these roots.

May 16, 1805

[Their boat has overturned] The loss we sustained was not so great as we had at first apprehended; our medicine sustained the greatest injury, several articles of which were entirely spoiled, and many others considerably injured. The balance of our losses consisted of some garden seeds, a small quantity of gunpowder, and a few culinary articles which fell overboard and sunk. The Indian woman to whom I ascribe equal fortitude and resolution with any person onboard at the time of the accident, caught and preserved most of the light articles which were washed overboard...

July 22, 1805

The Indian woman recognizes the country and assures us that this is the river on which her relations live, and that the three forks are at no great distance. This piece of information has cheered the spirits of the party who now begin to console themselves with the anticipation of shortly seeing the head of the Missouri, yet unknown to the civilized world.*

*From **Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expeditions**, R.G. Thwaites, ed. (New York, Dodd & Mead, 1904).

Strong Pioneer Women

Harriet Noble moved her family from New York to Ann Arbor, Michigan in the 1820s. She told her story to Elizabeth Ellet, who compiled oral histories of pioneer women up to the mid-nineteenth century.

"My husband was seized with the mania, and accordingly made preparation to start in January with his brother. They took the Ohio route, and were nearly a month in getting through; coming by way of Monroe, and thence to Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor. Mr. John Allen and Walter Rumsey with his wife and two men had

been there some four or five weeks, had built a small house, moved into it the day my husband and his brother arrived, and were just preparing their first meal, which the newcomers had the pleasure of partaking. They spent a few days here, located a farm a little above the town on the river Huron, and returned through Canada. They had been so much pleased with the country, that they immediately commenced preparing to emigrate; and as near as I can recollect, we started about the 20th of September, 1824, for Michigan. We travelled from our house in Geneva to Buffalo in wagons. The roads were bad, and we were obliged to wait in Buffalo four days for a boat, as the steamboat 'Michigan' was the only one on the lake.

"I had a little girl of three years, and a babe some months old, and Sister Noble had six children, one an infant. It was a tedious voyage; the lake was very rough most of the time, and I thought if we were only on land again, I should be satisfied, if it was a wilderness. I could not then realize what it would be to live without a comfortable house through the winter, but sad experience afterwards taught me a lesson not to be forgotten.

"We came into the Detroit River; it was beautiful then as now; on the Canada side, in particular, you will scarce perceive any change. For a city it was certainly the most filthy, irregular place I had ever seen; the streets were filled with Indians and low French, and at that time I could not tell the difference between them. We spent two days in making preparations for going out to Ann Arbor, and during that time I never saw a genteelly-dressed person in the streets. There were no carriages; the most wealthy families rode in French carts, sitting on the bottom upon some kind of mat; and the streets were so muddy these were the only vehicles convenient for getting about. I said to myself, 'if this be a Western city, give me a home in the woods. I think it was in the 3rd of October we started from Detroit, with a pair of oxen and a wagon, a few articles for cooking, and such necessaries as we could not do without. It was necessary that they should be few as possible, for our families were a full load for this mode of travelling. After travelling all day we found ourselves but ten miles from Detroit (at what is now Dearborn); here we spent the night at a kind of tavern, the only one west of the city. Our lodging was the floor, and the other entertainment was to match. The next day we set out as early a possible, in hopes to get through the woods before dark, but night found us about half way through, and there remained no other resource but to camp out, and make ourselves contented. The men built a large fire and prepared our supper. My sister and myself could assist but little, so fatigued were we with walking and carrying our infants. We were all pretty cheerful, until we began to think of lying down for the night. The men did not seem to dread it, however, and were soon fast asleep, but sleep was not for me in such a wilderness. I could think of nothing but wild beasts, or something as bad; so that I had the pleasure of watching while the others slept. It seemed a long, long night, and never in my life did I feel more grateful for the blessing of returning day. We started again as early as possible; the small children were the only ones who thought of riding. Every few rods it would take two or three men to pry the wagon out of the mud, while those who walked were obliged to force their way over fallen timber, brush, etc. Thus passed the day; at night we found ourselves on the plains, three miles from Ypsilanti. My feet were so swollen I could walk no further. We got into the wagon and rode as far as Woodruff's Grove, a little below Ypsilanti. There were some four or five families at this place. The next day we left for

Ann Arbor. We were delighted with the country before us, it was beautiful in its natural state; and I have sometimes thought that cultivation has marred its loveliness. Where Ypsilanti now stands, there was but one building—an old trading-house on the west side of the river; the situation was fine—there were scattering oaks and no brushwood. Here we met a large number of Indians; and one old squaw followed us some distance with her papoose, determined to swap babies. At last she gave it up, and for one I felt relieved.

"We passed two log houses between this and Ann Arbor. About the middle of the afternoon we found ourselves at our journey's end—but what a prospect? Mr. John Allen himself made us the offer of sharing with him the comfort of a shelter from storm, if not from cold. His house was large for a log one, but quite unfinished; there was a ground floor and a small piece above. When we got our things stored in this place, we found the number sheltered to be twenty-one women and children, and fourteen men. There were but two bedsteads in the house, and those who could not occupy these, slept on feather beds upon the floor. When the children were put in bed you could not set a foot down without stepping on a foot or hand; the consequence was we had music most of the time.

"We cooked our meals in the open air, there being no fire in the house but a small box-stove. The fall winds were not very favorable to such business; we would frequently find our clothes on fire, but fortunately we did not often get burned. When one meal was over, however, we dreaded preparing the next. We lived in this way until our husbands got a log house raised and the roof on; this took them about six weeks, at the end of which time we went into it, without door, floor, chimney, or anything but logs and roof. There were no means of getting boards for a floor, as everything must be brought from Detroit, and we could not think of drawing lumber over such a road. The only alternative was to split slabs of oak with an axe. My husband was not a mechanic, but he managed to make a floor in this way that kept us from the ground. I was most anxious for a door, as the wolves would come about in the evening, and sometimes stay all night and keep up a serenade that would almost chill the blood in my veins. Of all noises I think the howling of wolves and the yell of Indians the most fearful; at least it appeared so to me then, when I was not able to close the door against them. I had the greatest terror of Indians; for I had never seen any before I came to Michigan but Oneidas, and they were very different, being partially civilized.

"We had our house comfortable as such a rude building could be, by the first of February. It was a mild winter, a fortunate circumstance for us. We enjoyed uninterrupted health, but in the spring the ague with its accompaniments gave us a call, and by the middle of August there were but four out of fourteen who could call themselves well. We then fancied we were too near the river for health. We sold out and bought again ten miles west of Ann Arbor, a place which suited us better; and just a year from the day we came to Ann Arbor, moved out of it to Dexter. There was one house here, Judge Dexter's; he was building a sawmill, and had a number of men at work at the time; besides these there was not a white family west of Ann Arbor in Michigan territory. Our log house was just raised. I helped to raise the rafters and put on the roof, but it was the last November before our roof was completed. We were obliged to wait for the mill to run in order to get boards for making it. The doorway I had no means of closing except by hanging up a blanket, and frequently when I would raise it to step out, there would be two or three of our dusky neighbors peeping in to see

what was there. It would always give me such a start, I could not suppress a scream, to which they would reply with 'Ugh!' and a hearty laugh. They knew I was afraid, and liked to torment me. Sometimes they would throng the house and stay two or three hours. If I was alone they would help themselves to what they liked. The only way in which I could restrain them at all was to threaten that I would tell Cass; he was governor of the territory, and they stood in great fear of him. At last we got a door. The next thing wanted was a chimney; winter was close at hand and the stone was not drawn. I said to my husband, 'I think I can drive the oxen and draw the stones, while you dig them from the ground and load them.' He thought I could not, but consented to let me try. He loaded them on a kind of sled; I drove to the house, rolled them off, and drove back for another load. I succeeded so well that we got enough in this way to build our chimney. My husband and myself were four days building it. I suppose most of my lady friends would think a woman quite out of 'her legitimate sphere' in turning mason, but I was not at all particular what kind of labor I performed, so we were only comfortable and provided with the necessaries of life. When we had a chimney and floor, and a door to close up our little log cabin, I have often thought it the most comfortable little place that could possibly be built in so new a country. The roads had been so bad all the fall that we had waited until this time, and I think it was December when my husband went to Detroit for supplies. Fifteen days were consumed in going and coming. We had been without flour for three weeks or more. After being without bread three or four days, my little boy, two years old, looked me in the face and said, 'Ma, why don't you make bread; don't you like it? I do.' His innocent complaint brought forth the first tears I had shed in Michigan on account of any privations I had to suffer, and they were about the last. I am not of a desponding disposition, nor often low-spirited, and having left New York to make Michigan my home, I had no idea of going back, or being very unhappy. Yet the want of society, of church privileges, and in fact almost everything that makes life desirable, would often make me sad in spite of all effort to the contrary."*

*Elizabeth F. Ellet, **Pioneer Women of the West** (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1856).

Biddy Mason - Black Pioneer

As slaves and free persons, many Black men and women moved westward-looking for opportunity in the nineteenth century. Biddy Mason came to California as a slave in 1854 where she received her freedom. Through hard work and insightful investments she became a wealthy woman, renowned for her kindness and charity.

The subject of this sketch was born in Hancock County, Georgia, [in 1818] and was the most remarkable pioneer of color coming to California. She came under the most trying circumstances....

After the Courts of Los Angeles County granted Biddy Mason and her family their freedom, she took her family to the home of Robert Owens in Los Angeles. Then she went in search of work which she readily secured at two dollars and fifty cents per day, as confinement nurse [midwife] ...The securing of work meant to her the great boon of acquiring not only the money for the support of her dependent family, but also an opportunity of securing a home. With the first

money she could save she purchased two lots...which today [1919] is the most valuable piece of property in all of beautiful Los Angeles.

Biddy Mason had a splendid sense of the financial value of property and such great hopes for the future of Los Angeles that she continued to buy property and retain it until after the city began to boom, when she sold a forty-foot lot for twelve thousand dollars...

Think of this slave woman coming to California in 1851 by ox-team which consisted of three hundred wagons, and, at the end of these wagons, Biddy Mason driving the cattle across the plains, nowithstanding she had her own three little girls, Ellen, Ann and Harriett, to care for en route!

Biddy Mason was a devoted mother. Her most remarkable trait of character was her ability to teach her children and grandchildren the value of money and property....

The name of Biddy Mason is reverenced in the City of Los Angeles where her kindness to the poor is fresh in the minds of the public. In an issue of the Los Angeles Times, under date of February 12, 1909,..[was written:] "Biddy Mason was well-known throughout Los Angeles County for her charitable work. She was a frequent visitor to the jail, speaking a word of cheer and leaving some token and a prayerful hope with every prisoner. In the slums of the city she was known as 'Grandma Mason' and did much active service toward uplifting the worst element in Los Angeles...During the flood of the early eighties she gave an order to a little grocery store...By the terms of this order, all families made homeless by the flood were to be supplied with groceries while Biddy Mason cheerfully paid the bill."

...Biddy Mason [died] January 15, 1891.*

*Delilah Beasley, **The Negro Trail Blazers of California** (Los Angeles: Times Mirror Printing & Binding House, 1919).

V. WOMEN DURING THE CIVIL WAR ERA

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton

The movement that began at Seneca Falls gathered momentum. The group of women rallying around the cause of women's rights grew steadily. The primary concerns of these early feminists were legal rights. The denial of property rights, custody of children, the right to keep their own wages or even inherit seemed immoral. The prime movers in the early women's movement came from varied backgrounds. Lucy Stone, "the morningstar" of the women's rights movement, grew up on a farm in Massachusetts where the women often worked as hard as the men. She graduated from Oberlin and spoke out publicly for abolition, and eventually for women's rights. To soothe the fears of male abolitionists who did not want issues confused, she lectured on abolition on Saturday and Sunday and women's rights the rest of the week. Susan Brownell Anthony joined the women's movement in 1851. She came from a liberal Quaker family and had been an active abolitionist. She was also one of the few unmarried leaders, lending all her energy to the cause. Often when faced with the subject of the women's movement, she criticized the divided loyalties of other women. She felt babies, the inevitable outcome of marriage, interfered with the movement. When Elizabeth Cady Stanton became pregnant in her early 40s, Susan Anthony wrote: "For a few moments pleasure to herself and her husband, Elizabeth has increased the load of cares under which she already groans." Anthony became the most famous spokeswoman for the cause of universal suffrage. Her speeches were so eloquent that even her strongest opponents respected her intelligence and wit. She toured the country speaking for her cause, and verbally sparring with opponents who often filled the lecture halls to attempt to humiliate and insult her. Often they were swayed by her convincing arguments.

In addition to her initial contributions of organizing the Seneca Falls Convention and drafting the Declaration and Resolution, Elizabeth Cady Stanton would continue to broach subjects that made others uncomfortable—like divorce and sex. Although Anthony and others would try and curb her, she continued to lead the movement into new and often "shocking" areas. The close relationship between Anthony and Stanton was to have immeasurable effect on the movement. These women and others met annually at women's rights conventions until the beginning of the Civil War in 1860.

As men marched off to the tune of Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the Civil War forced women to take on new and varied responsibilities and opened new chances for advancement and experiences outside the home. Northern and southern women took over entire households, went to work, tilled the fields and whatever else was necessary to keep their families clothed and fed while the men were at war. Southern women in particular labored under the hardship of four years of blockade and a frightening scarcity of many essential items.

An estimated 400 women acted as nurses, guides and spies in the thick of the war. Dorothea Dix, already known for her work in reforming prisons and insane asylums, became at 60 the head of the nursing service in the army hospitals. With women like Clara Barton, she supplied hundreds of field hospitals with responsible nurses. She advertised for "women over 30, not wasp-waisted, strong enough to turn a grown man in bed and willing to do the most menial work."

The women's main effort during the war was their support of the Sanitary Commission. Although it officially had men at the helm, the Commission was run by Mary Livermore and Louisa Lee Schuyler. The Sanitary Commission was a combination of the modern USO and Red Cross. It supplied and was responsible for nurses to staff hospitals, medical supplies, relocations of missing and wounded, hospital ships, relief camps, and convalescent homes. In addition they waged battles against scurvy and for better sanitation. Women in New York and Philadelphia put on Sanitary Fairs to raise over two million dollars to support the work of the Commission.

A satirical image of things to come by Currier & Ives.

Harriet Tubman served as a spy and scout during the war. For three years she risked her life for Union soldiers, usually with no pay. After the war she was destitute and finally in 1897 was given a $20 a month pension by the government. Many Black women escaped slavery and served as laundresses, cooks and nurses during the war.

Anthony and Stanton lent their petitioning abilities to the aid of Senator Charles Sumner and his efforts to amend the Constitution to ban slavery. In 1863 they organized the "National Woman's League" to collect one million signatures on a petition asking Congress to pass the 13th Amendment. This would have meant getting signatures from one out of every twenty northerners...an unrealistic goal. But, women worked for 15 months and did

collect almost half-a-million signatures. The experience gained in organizing and collecting signatures for petitions would prove invaluable.

Other women entered government service for the first time, and after the war, women in this and similar types of service remained a familiar scene in Washington. During Reconstruction women continued their public service work as teachers and organizers for the Freedman's Bureau.

Following the war the women's movement was dealt a bitter blow. The 14th Amendment clarified that all males would be permitted to vote. Susan B. Anthony tested the intent of the Amendment in 1872 when she registered and voted in the presidential election. She was arrested and tried in one of the most closely watched trials of the century. Anthony was found guilty and fined $100, which she refused to pay saying, "to resist tyranny is to obey God." She fully expected to go to jail and hoped the publicity would help the cause. Her opponents refused to arrest her, and she was eventually pardoned by President Grant. Anger, along with organizational and administrative expertise gained during the war, invigorated the movement. This momentum carried the women's suffrage issue into the twentieth century.

A very different and separate battle was being waged by other women. After the war some women wanted to continue working outside the home. For many it was economically necessary in order to support their families. However, society respected women in the home and nursery, but feared that women in the factory would dissolve the moral fiber of American life. The attitude prevailed that women were unfit to work outside the home. A working woman threatened the position of the husband as the head of the family; idle women gave status to their husbands. Society required respectable women to be free of any taint of utility outside the home. Suffragists were largely upper and middle class reformers with few concerns for their working sisters. In fact some argued (although Stanton and Anthony disagreed) that only educated women should be eligible to vote.

Some working women sought job protection, decent wages and respectability by appealing to various unions for membership. The National Labor Union under William Sylvis did admit women in 1868, but the organization itself was shortlived. Most unions refused to admit women. They feared loss of bargaining power and also supported the societal prescription that women belonged in the home.

Although the late 1800s would bring some changes in attitudes about working women, the years following the war were difficult. For a short time society encouraged women to participate in new opportunities necessitated by the war, then swiftly moved back to traditional expectations after the war's end. This pattern has been repeated with every major war of our nation's history.

Women on Both Sides

Women made substantial contributions to both the Union and the Confederacy. What follows are three accounts by women who contributed to the war in different ways.

Sarah Edmonds served for two years in the Union army as nurse and spy. Disguised as a Black youth, she worked behind enemy lines. After the war, the government refused to pay her a military pension of $12 a month until 1884.

Confederate Rose Greenhow supported the expansion of slavery and became a member of an espionage group. She provided Southern generals with important information regarding the Battle of Bull Run. The excerpt that follows describes her arrest.

Susie King Taylor was a former slave. After gaining her freedom, she served as a teacher, nurse and laundress to a Black regiment. Her account describes the limited resources available for maintenance and support of the troops.

Sarah Edmonds:

...I did not enjoy taking care of the sick and wounded as I once did, but I longed to go forth and do, as a noble chaplain did at the Battle of Pittsburg landing. He picked up the musket and cartridge-box of a wounded soldier, stepped into the front rank, and took deliberate aim at one rebel after another until he had fired 60 rounds of cartridge; and as he sent a messenger of death to each heart he also sent up the following brief prayer: "May God have mercy upon your miserable soul."

...It is true I was becoming dissatisfied with my situation as nurse, and was determined to leave the hospital.

...Chaplain B told me that he knew of a situation he could get for me if I had sufficient moral courage to undertake its duties...

That morning a detachment of the 37th New York had been sent out as scouts and had returned bringing in several prisoners, who stated that one of the Federal spies had been captured at Richmond and was to be executed...Now it was necessary for that vacancy to be supplied..., it was a situation of great danger and vast responsibility, and this was the one which Mr. B could procure for me. But was I capable of filling it with honor to myself and advantage to the Federal government?...I did consider it thoroughly, and made up my mind to accept it with all its fearful responsibilities...

My name was sent to headquarters, and I was soon summoned to appear there myself....I was questioned, and cross-questioned with regard to my views of the

rebellion and my motive in wishing to engage in so perilous an undertaking. My views were freely given, my object briefly stated, and I had passed trial number one.

Next I was examined with regard to my knowledge of the use of firearms, and in that department I sustained my character in a mannner worthy of a veteran. Then I was again cross-questioned but this time by a new committee of military stars. Next came a phrenological examination, and finding that my organs of secretiveness, combativeness, etc., were largely developed, the oath of allegiance was administered...*

*S. Emma Edmonds, **Nurse and Spy in Union Army** (Hartford: W.S. Williams & Co., 1864).

Rose Greenhow:

...on Friday, August 23, 1861, as I was entering my own door, on returning from a promenade, I was arrested by two men, one in citizen's dress, and the other in the fatigue dress of an officer of the United States Army [North]...They followed close upon my footsteps.

I had stopped to enquire after the sick children of one of my neighbors, on the opposite side of the street. From several persons on the sidewalk at the time, en passant, I derived some valuable information; amongst other things, it was told me that a guard had been stationed around my house throughout the night, and that I had been followed during my promenade....This caused me to observe more closely the two men who had followed, and who walked with an air of conscious authority past my house to the end of the pavement, where they stood surveying me.

I continued my conversation apparently without noticing them, remarking rapidly to one of our humble agents who passed, "Those men will probably arrest me. Wait at Corcoran's Corner, and see if I raise my handkerchief to my face, give information of it!" The person to whom this order was given went whistling along. I then put a very important note into my mouth, which I destroyed; and turned, and walked leisurely across the street, and ascended my own steps.

A few moments after, and before I could open the door, the two men above described rapidly ascended also, and asked, with some confusion of manner, "Is this Mrs. Greenhow?" I answered, "Yes." They still hesitated; whereupon I said, "Who are you, and what do you want?" "I come to arrest you." "By what authority?" The man Allen, or Pinkerton (for he had several aliases), said, "By sufficient authority." "Let me see your warrant." He mumbled something about verbal authority from the War and State Departments, and then both stationed themselves upon either side of me, and followed into the house. I rapidly glanced my eye to see that my signal had been understood [the handkerchief], and remarked quietly, "I have no power to resist you; but had I been inside my house, I would have killed one of you before I had submitted to this illegal process."...*

*Rose Greenhow, **My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington** (London: R. Bentley, 1863).

Susie King Taylor:

About 4 o'clock, July 2 [1864], the charge was made. The firing could be plainly heard in camp. I hastened down the landing and remained there until 8 o'clock that morning. When the wounded arrived, or rather began to arrive, the first one brought in was Samuel Anderson of our company. He was badly wounded. Then others of our boys, some with their legs off, arm gone, foot off, and wounds of all kinds imaginable. They had to wade through creeks and marshes, as they were discovered by the enemy and shelled very badly. A number of men were lost, some got fastened in the mud and had to cut off the legs of their pants, to free themselves. The 103rd New York suffered the most [a white regiment], as their men were very badly wounded.

My work now began. I gave my assistance to try to alleviate their sufferings. I asked the doctor at the hospital what I could get for them to eat. They wanted soup, but that I could not get; but I had a few cans of condensed milk and some turtle eggs, so I thought I would try to make some custard. I had doubts as to my success, for cooking with turtle eggs was something new to me, but the adage has it, "Nothing ventured, nothing done," so I made a venture and the result was a very delicious custard. This I carried to the men, who enjoyed it very much. My services were given at all times for the comfort of these men. I was on hand to assist whenever needed. I was enrolled as company laundress, but I did very little of it, because I was always busy doing other things through camp, and was employed all the time doing something for the officers and comrades...*

*Susie King Taylor, **Reminiscences of My Life in Camp** (Published by the author, 1902).

Lincoln Asks the Women's Assistance

In the following letter, Lincoln speaks of the formation of the Sanitary Commission and enlists the assistance of the Union's women.

To the Loyal Women of America:

Treasury Building, Washington
October 1, 1861

Countrywomen:

You are called upon to help take care of our sick and wounded soldiers and sailors.

It is true that government undertakes their care, but all experience, in every other country as well as our own, shows that government alone cannot completely provide for the humane treatment of those for whom the duty of providing, as well as possible, is acknowledged. Even at this period of the war, and with a much smaller proportion of sick and wounded than is to be expected, there is much suffering, and dear lives are daily lost because government cannot put the right thing in the right place at the right time. No other government has ever provided as well for its soldiers, so soon after the breaking out of war of

this magnitude, and yet it remains true that there is much suffering, and that death unnecessarily occurs from the imperfectness of the government's arrangements... [in spite of difficulties of government agents] ...humanity to the sick, must to a certain extent, be sacrificed, under government, to the purpose of securing the utmost possible strength and efficiency to the military force...

...Hence, an intermediate agency becomes necessary, which, without taking any of the duties of the regular agents of government out of their hands, can, nevertheless, offer to them means of administering to the wants of the sick and wounded much beyond what could be obtained within the arbitrary limits of supply established by government...

The Sanitary Commission, a volunteer and unpaid bureau of the War Department of the government, constitutes such an agency.

...For the means of administering to the needs of the sick and wounded, the Commission relies upon gift offerings of their own handiwork from the loyal women of the land. It receives not one dollar from government...

It is, therefore, suggested that societies be at once formed in every neighborhood where they are not already established, and that existing societies of suitable organization, as Dorcas Societies, Sewing Societies, Reading Clubs and Sociables, devote themselves, for a time, to the sacred service of their country; that energetic and respectable committees be appointed to call from house to house, and store to store, to obtain contributions...

Every woman in the country can, at the least, knit a pair of woolen stockings, or, if not, can purchase them...

The Sanitary Commission is doing a work of great humanity, and of direct practical value to the nation, in this time of its trial. It is entitled to the gratitude and confidence of the people, and I trust it will be generously supported. There is no agency through which voluntary offerings of patriotism can be more effectively made.*

[Signed]

Abraham Lincoln

*"Report Concerning the Woman's Central Association of Relief at New York," United State Sanitary Commission (New York: 1861).

VI. WOMEN COME OF AGE (1880-1920)

A class of immigrant children, representing 19 nationalities

With the rapid expansion of the country towards the West Coast, the growing cities and the new trend of industrialization, the demands for cheap labor were extensive. The waves of foreign immigrants that entered the country between 1820 and 1920 filled the unskilled menial jobs needed to support a growing country.

The European immigrants, mostly peasants, came with dreams of owning their own farms here. Instead, most found themselves in eastern cities working in mills and factories and living in tenement ghettos. Most immigrant women came with their families or joined relatives who had settled here earlier, though a large number of young, single Irish and Scandinavian women settled here on their own.

The tenements of large cities were clustered together in ghettos of people with similar backgrounds. Crowded into two or three stuffy rooms were large families of immigrants who often were forced to take in additional boarders to pay their rent. One tenement building often housed 200 people with eight to twelve people to a flat. Often water was drawn from a hydrant in the street, though "modern" tenements had water closets in the hallways and toilets in the basement.

Garbage and refuse was thrown out windows, the coal stoves leaked smoke and fumes, and the food available was often tainted. With prevalent poor sanitary conditions, inferior diets, and extreme overcrowding, disease and even common illnesses took a heavy toll on the immigrants.

While women continued to handle their traditional roles of family care, most also went to work in sweat shops, textile mills, and factories. Some turned to domestic chores or became pushcart merchants. Often they also took work home and labored into the night to earn a few extra cents. When homework (such as hand sewing, cigar rolling and flower pressing) was abolished by legislation in the early 1900s, it created a mixed dilemma. While it freed women (and children) from unregulated work conditions, it cut families' wage-earning potential. This increased the scramble for regular employment and meant more time away from home and children.

After the Gold Rush, Californian and other western cities grew rapidly. The need for cheap labor was so critical that Chinese and other Asian immigrants were brought over specifically to fill menial positions. Because of

their extreme cultural differences, the Asians were not assimilated as other immigrants were. Many believed the Chinese would return to their homeland (as did the Chinese themselves). In fact, to minimize the danger of their permanent settlement here, families and women virtually were prohibited from immigration. Essentially, no Chinese women were allowed in the country until the turn of the century.

The end of the 19th century brought technological as well as social changes. Gas lighting, city water sources, indoor plumbing, canned and packaged foods, and the sewing machine all contributed to relieving some domestic responsibilities of many American women. This growth of industry drew increasing numbers of women into the factories (usually under less than ideal conditions) and at the same time freed middle and upper class women to fill their time in new ways.

Child labor in a textile mill

A tenement family strips tobacco at home

As increased factory production demanded more workers, more women entered the labor force. In 1870, 15 percent of the labor force was female; by 1900 it was 20 percent. Most of these were poor immigrant girls who spoke little English and desperately needed work. They generally worked 14 to 15 hours a day, six days a week for an average wage of $2.50. Attempts to improve the conditions and wages of working women were of limited success. In 1880 Leonore Barry was appointed head of a woman's department of the already declining Knights of Labor. Barry discovered sweat shops, incredible discrepancies in male and female wages, and ill treatment of women. However, when few changes resulted from her discoveries, she resigned in 1890.

Some non-working women developed an interest in the lives of their less fortunate sisters. This concern resulted in the formation of several kinds of organizations. Working girls' clubs were founded in New York City by socialite Grace Dodge beginning in 1884. They provided education and self-improvement opportunities for working girls in the city. The idea grew and by 1890 clubs

existed in many cities. They offered night classes, provided social facilities, residences, and health care for factory women. In 1886 the first protective associations were formed. These confined their interest to legal aid and services like collection of back wages and placement services. Apparently, it was not unusual for employers to withhold wages for minor offenses. Workers also fell prey to shady placement services that operated in largely immigrant neighborhoods. The services collected high fees for finding the people poor jobs. The New York City Protective Association collected over $41,000 in back wages for 1200 girls between 1886 and 1890.

Other society women founded the first Consumers League in 1890. The League set a "Fair House" standard of appropriate working conditions, wages, and hours. Members encouraged the public to buy products only from sources meeting the "Fair House" standards. The League grew and became the National Consumers League. Under Florence Kelly, its secretary for 22 years, it combined sympathy for workers with well organized political pressure to achieve compliance.

While these clubs and the women who organized them were sincere in their efforts, they were less than successful. The biggest and most successful organizer of labor in the late 19th century was the American Federation of Labor. While Samuel Gompers was not anxious to give women union cards, he did in 1903 sanction and provide financial backing for the Women's Trade Union League. Under the able leadership of Mary Kinney and Leonora O'Reilly, the WTUL supported strikes, worked to organize women, and lobbied for legislative support. In 1909 and 1913 their support of striking garment workers helped focus national attention on the realities of sweatshop labor. Pressure from the League after the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire, (in which 147 young immigrant women died, trapped in an overcrowded, locked building) led to the first fire

protection codes in New York City factories. The League also provided research to support the first state laws regulating maximum working hours for women. The 1908 Mueller v. Oregon Supreme Court decision established this as constitutional.

These organizations were examples of a unique working relationship between factory women and those from the more monied and leisured upper and middle classes. Women with time to spare and concern for the reform of society worked in many other areas as well.

There is a great variety to these organizations. The Women's Christian Temperance Union was founded in 1874, and by 1880 Frances Willard had become its president. The organization worked to have sale of liquor made illegal because so many alcohol-dependent men drained family resources, took wives' wages, and destroyed family unity.

Julia Ward Howe and Jane Croly were active in organizing women's clubs. By 1890 seventeen states had organized General Federation of Women's Clubs with well over one million members. Women joined these clubs for many reasons: To end boredom, and out of a desire to help to improve their communities and their own intellects in a time when few traditional educational facilities were available to women.

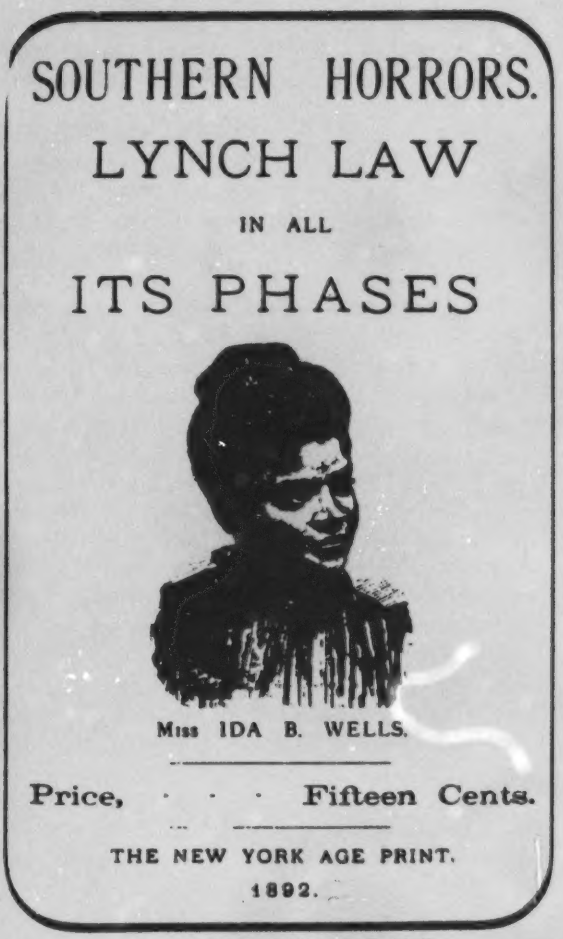
Black women who had even more crucial reasons to organize were rarely permitted in these white women's clubs. Educated Black women like Josephine Ruffin and Mrs. Booker T. Washington organized clubs for Black women. In 1896 under the guidance of Ida Barnett Wells and the leadership of Mary Church Terrell, the National Association of Colored Women was founded. The primary concerns of this and other federations of Black women's clubs were to improve education, to expose lynchings, and to increase respect for Black women.

Ida Wells Barnett operated a small newspaper, the "Memphis Free Speech". A former teacher, she became increasingly concerned about the numbers of lynchings of blacks in the South. Beginning in 1892 she exposed and published detailed accounts of lynchings. Her research was flawless and eventually sympathetic congressmen, shocked at the numbers she revealed (approximately 10,000 lynchings in eight southern states from 1892 to 1896), ordered a federal investigation.

The prime concern of Mary McLeod Bethune was the education of Black children. In spite of her own poverty, she eventually founded Bethune-Cookman College in Florida to educate teachers. Bethune was an active participant in FDR's New Deal and remained president of her college until 1942.

Other women focused their concerns on the urban poor. The most famous, Jane Addams, was one of those concerned with the problems of this group. Addams opened Hull House in Chicago in 1889. It was the first of what would be called settlement houses in America's urban slums. Addams hoped to offer services like nurseries, gyms, and classes for the poor and at the same time engage the free time of middle-class women in worthwhile work.

Mary McLeod Bethune



A pamphlet by Ida B. Wells

As some middle-class women worked for reform, others were furthering their education. In 1892, 2,500 women received college degrees and by 1900, 8,000 had degrees. They attended Vassar which opened in 1865, Wellesley and Smith (1875), and Harvard Annex, later Radcliffe (1884).

Proportionately only a few women actually participated in the reform movement, were well educated, or joined unions if they worked. They immensely broadened and enriched the scope of possibilities for American women. These women often received strong opposition and intense negative pressure. In spite of limited change, society as a whole often feared changing roles.

Several women struck out on lonely, controversial causes armed with only their determination and courage. Their drive was the belief that their causes would improve the quality of life for everyone.

One very colorful and effective Knights of Labor organizer was Mary Harris Jones, better known as Mother Jones. An Irish immigrant with a docile grandmotherly appearance, she was a firebrand of the labor movement. Her motto was "Pray for the dead, and fight like hell for the living."

An issue of Margaret Sanger's controversial publication

Labor organizer Mother Jones (top)

Mother Jones had worked in many Chicago sweatshops to support her family, but when the Great Fire of 1871 destroyed all she owned, she began attending meetings with the Knights of Labor in the burned out buildings. Soon she was organizing major strikes - from railroad workers (B & O strike, 1877) to coal miners (West Virginia, 1911; Colorado, 1914) - with her eloquent speeches and skilled tactics. She advised wives of strikers, "No matter what your fight, don't be ladylike," though she disapproved of violence.

Her publicity of the machine-gun massacre of striking miners by the Colorado National Guard led to presidential intervention that created the first employment grievance procedures. She organized a child labor march which passed in front of the home of President Roosevelt so that he would hear "the wail of children who never had a chance to go to school," and that led to some child labor reforms. She also helped found the International Workers of the World. Mother Jones was arrested and put in jail many times. She was sentenced to 20 years for conspiracy during the coal miners' strike of 1911, but received a governor's pardon.

On the occasion of her 100th birthday she was introduced to a college audience as "a great humanitarian." She roared back, "No! I'm a hell-raiser!"

As a child in a small New York factory town, Margaret Sanger noted that a striking difference existed between the classes. The poor working class houses were crowded with many children - twelve children was not uncommon in these families -while the area's wealthy families had small families with two or three children. The economic pressure on the poor struck Sanger. A poor family could never improve its situation if the number of mouths to feed constantly increased.

As an obstetrical nurse in New York City's Lower East Side working class slums, she frequently saw women who were seriously ill from self-induced abortions. She saw that new births were not a joyous occasion for poor families because of the increased economic burdens, and poor women constantly begged for the "secret" rich people had to control their family's size. Sanger realized that the whole existence of poor families was colored by the inability of women to control their reproductive powers, as families grew without limits or accordance to the family's resources.

The law stated that a doctor could deliver contraceptive information, but the women Sanger was trying to aid could not afford a visit to a doctor. Sanger developed brochures for women describing contraceptive methods, but was arrested when she tried to distribute them. The materials were viewed as obscene by the authorities. Her battle became one for free speech as well as one for the practice of birth control. When her trial did not occur (apparently because the government was fearful of creating a martyr of her), she embarked on a national speaking tour. She skillfully pleaded her case, uncovering the dangers of abortion, the proliferation of incorrect information, and named freedom from mandatory motherhood as a means of social change. In 1916, she challenged the law again by opening a contraceptive clinic in New York. Day after day the clinic was crowded with women of every race and creed, but on the tenth day of operation, Sanger and two assistants were arrested. They each spent 30 days in jail.

After emerging from jail, she embarked on a campaign of general education to sway public opinion. Through conferences, speeches, and articles, she fought to convince Americans that the laws were archaic and kept poor families enslaved. Her fight continued until the mid 1940s when it was obvious that Sanger's dream was on its way to full realization, as birth control received substantial social and official acceptance.

A few women became actively involved in more radical challenges to social and institutional tradition. Emma Goldman, a Russian immigrant of Jewish heritage, was one of the most extreme. After three years of working in a New York textile factory for $2.50 a week, she began writing an anarchist periodical called Mother Earth. In it she preached atheism, patriotism, and birth control. Goldman was arrested several times because of her writings and speeches.

Goldman believed that traditional governments caused the repression and control of the individual, and ultimately led to the individual's destruction. Anarchy was her remedy, for overthrowing the old state would allow creation of a new state with a political structure which allowed the "essential self" of each individual to flourish. She also felt that the traditional subservience of women was a destructive force that subordinated and enslaved women. She was even weary of the organized women's movement as she felt it only proposed a restructuring of society rather than a removal of all structure.

Goldman became a passionate and articulate rebel in the union movement and an outspoken pacifist during World War I. She was arrested many times for her controversial opinions and was deported to Russia for urging men to avoid the draft in 1917. She was disheartened by what she found in the U.S.S.R. In

spite of her opposition to institutions in America, she told audiences here on a visit in 1934, "You are still free in America." She died in Canada in 1940.

The issue of political participation, and particularly suffrage, was not an issue for reformers or working women. The average working woman had little time or energy to concern herself with such esoteric issues as politics. Women reformers generally felt their influence was effective regardless. In spite of these attitudes, the early 1900s would see a kind of coalition of reformers and political activists who all saw the vote as a symbol of political power and justice. Many hoped that suffrage would allow women greater influence over legislation which would bring forward many new concerns and ideas.

To many, the suffrage story may not have seemed as important in the late 1800s as American expansion, exploitation of women workers, and child labor; but thousands of women devoted their lives in hopes of the changes the vote would bring to the greater society.

The American public was clearly hesitant to allow women the vote. This hesitation was a result of accumulated public and private attitudes about appropriate roles for women as well as more specialized political concerns. The involvement of women in reform activities hurt the suffrage cause. The WCTU's anti-liquor campaign turned pro-liquor interests against suffrage. The earlier involvement of women in the abolitionist cause destroyed any possible support in the South. Northern industrialists feared women social reformers pushing for minimum wage and maximum hour laws. The opposition was strong, vocal, wealthy, and well coordinated. The movement, at least early in the 20th century, was fragmented and without strong, organized leadership.

Following the Civil War a rift developed within the fledgling women's movement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony formed the National Women's Suffrage Association. They welcomed all women and embraced all causes related to women. Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown, the minister, were more elitest. They favored the vote for well-educated, white women and feared the concerns of Stanton and Anthony for the working women would undermine the single-minded desire for the vote by creating wider opposition and controversy within the movement.

As the older leaders mellowed, it became increasingly obvious that the two factions must work together, and in 1890 they merged as the National American Woman Suffrage Association. At this point the movement entered a "slow" period. The forceful leaders of the past were declining in health and dying - Stone in 1892, Stanton in 1902, and Anthony in 1906. The issues were clouded by other political and economic concerns.

In the early 1900s, however, the tide was finally beginning to turn. Women with excellent leadership capabilities emerged in Dr. Ann Howard Shaw, a minister, and particularly in Carrie Chapman Catt, who would lead the NAWSA to victory in 1920. Catt reorganized the movement. Along with women who lent their full-time professional support to the movement, she systematically visited businesses and voters, held meetings, and finally began to generate renewed support for a suffrage amendment.

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PRESIDENT WILSON IS DECEIVING THE WORLD
WHILE HE APPEARS AS THE PROPHET OF DEMOCRACY
PRESIDENT WILSON HAS OPPOSED THOSE WHO
DEMAND DEMOCRACY FOR THIS COUNTRY
IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISFRANCHISEMENT
OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS
WE IN AMERICA KNOW THIS
THE WORLD WILL FIND HIM OUT.

The White House vigil draws attention to the suffrage issue.

More militant tactics were employed by Alice Paul. Initially a member of the NAWSA, Paul left it to form the Congressional Union (also called the Women's Party). She was a social worker who had observed and participated in the suffrage movement in England. She had seen militant women chain themselves to the pillars of Parliament, go on hunger strikes, and bring considerable attention to their cause. The Congressional Union picketed the White House and held rallies and demonstrations. One parade of 5,000 women kept Washington police occupied the whole day before Wilson's first inauguration.

The combination of Catt's "winning plan," her systematic drive to win ratification, and Paul's more militant activities kept the issue of suffrage in front of the American people. On March 19, 1914 the 19th Amendment was finally voted on by the Senate for the first time since 1887. It was defeated by only one vote, and for the first time was voted on by the House (where it was defeated).

As America entered World War I in 1917, efforts continued. Congressional Union members picketed the White House proclaiming the President as "a Kaiser" and asking that "democracy begin at home." Paul and her second in command were arrested and spent time in a Federal workhouse. Their subsequent mistreatment, hunger strikes, and forced feedings drew national attention and sympathy to the cause.

The NAWSA membership was much less obvious. They contributed their energies to war work, went into factories, operated bond drives, knit socks, rolled bandages, and generally made themselves indispensable to the war effort.

As the war drew to a close, the various efforts of the Congressional Union and the NAWSA produced results. Although distillers, industrialists, and southern politicians maintained their "unholy alliance" against suffrage, victory was now possible.

National Woman's Party weekly, 1917 (left) and Life magazine's cover celebrating suffrage, 1920.

In January of 1918 after a private meeting with Mrs. Catt, President Wilson endorsed the amendment. When the House voted on January 10, 1918, they passed the amendment by one vote. Jubilant women cheered as congressmen arrived, some from sick beds or personal emergencies of their own, to cast their votes for suffrage.

The Senate was less willing to lend its support. In October of 1918 and again in February of 1919, the amendment was defeated. The tireless efforts continued. Women worked to defeat the re-election efforts of non-cooperative senators and on state levels for local ratification. Finally, on May 20, 1919, President Wilson, hopeful of ratification, called a special session of the Senate, and on June 4, 1919, the Senate ratified the 19th Amendment.

Now 36 states needed to accept the amendment. By January 1920, 35 states had voted in favor, and women had hopes of participating in the 1920 presidential election. The decision now rested in the State of Tennessee where considerable pressure was being exerted on both sides. As the vote was finally taken on August 26, 1920, 24-year-old Representative Harry Burns received a telegram from his mother: "Be a good boy and vote for suffrage..." He did, and the 19th Amendment became law.

Now, what of it? There has been, in spite of men's fears and women's hopes, little cohesive political action on the part of American women. Until recently, few women have sought public office. Those who have, have focused on traditional feminine issues: child care, education, and health. The equitable treatment of women in the work force remains a constant area of concern. As the 20th century progressed, women found that obtaining the vote was only the beginning.

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Carrie Chapman Catt's Address to Congress

As leader of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Carrie Chapman Catt brought focus to the organization. Her strategy was to lobby Congress to pass the amendment. Here is an excerpt from a speech she gave to Congress outlining her fundamental arguments for suffrage.

Woman suffrage is inevitable. Suffragists knew it before November 6, 1917; opponents afterward. Three distinct causes make it inevitable.

1. The history of our country. Ours is a nation born of revolution; of rebellion against a system of government so securely entrenched in the customs and tradition of human society that in 1776 it seemed [strong enough to resist attack]. From the beginning of things nations had been ruled by kings and for kings, while the people served and paid the cost. The American revolutionists boldly proclaimed the heresies.

"Taxation without representation is tyranny."
"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Our Theories Make Woman Suffrage Inevitable

The colonists won and the nation which was established as a result of their victory had held unfailingly that these two fundamental principles of democratic government are not only the spiritual source of our national existence, but have been our chief historical pride and at all times the sheet anchor of our liberty.

Eighty years after the Revolution, Abraham Lincoln welded those two maxims into a new one.

"Ours is a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Fifty years more passed and the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, in a mighty crisis of the nation, proclaimed to the world: "We are fighting for the things which we have always carried nearest out hearts - for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government..."

Woman suffrage became an assured fact when the Declaration of Independence was written. It matters not at all whether Thomas Jefferson and compatriots thought of women when they wrote the immortal document. They conceived and voiced a principle greater than any man...

Our Practice Makes Woman Suffrage Inevitable

2. The suffrage for women already established in the United States makes woman suffrage for the nation inevitable.

When Elihu Root as President of the American Society of International Law, at the 11th annual meeting in Washington, April 26, 1917 said, "the world cannot be half democratic and half autocratic. It must be all democratic or all Prussian. There can be no compromise," he voiced a general truth. Precisely the same intuition has already taught the blindest and most hostile foe of woman suffrage that our nation cannot long continue a condition under which government in half its territory rests upon the consent of half the people and in the other half upon the consent of all the people; a condition which grants representation to the taxed in half its territory and denies it in the other half; a condition which permits women in some state to share in the election of the President, Senators and Representatives, and denies them the privilege in others.

Our Leadership Makes Woman Suffrage Inevitable

3. The leadership of the United States in world democracy compels the enfranchisement of its own women. The maxims of the Declaration were once called "fundamental principles of government." They are now called "American principles" or even "Americanisms." They have become the slogans of every movement toward political liberty the world around; of every effort to widen the suffrage for men and women in any land. No people, race or class striving for freedom is there, anywhere in the world, that has not made our axioms the chief weapon of the struggle....

The Logic of the Situation Calls for Immediate Action

Is it not clear that American history makes woman suffrage inevitable? That full suffrage in twelve states makes its coming in all 48 states inevitable? That the spread of democracy over the world, including votes for the women of many countries, in each case based upon the principles our Republic gave to the world, compels action by our nation. Is it not clear that the world expects such action and fails to understand its delay?

In the face of these facts we ask you Senators and members of the House of Representatives of the United States, is not the immediate enfranchisement of the women of our nation the duty of the hour?...

...Gentlemen, we hereby petition you, our only designated representatives, to redress our grievances by the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and to use your influence to secure its ratification in your own state, in order that the women of our nation may be endowed with political freedom before the next presidential election, and our nation may resume its world leadership in democracy.

Woman suffrage is coming - you know it. Will you, Honorable Senators and Members of the House of Representatives, help or hinder it?*

*Carrie Chapman Catt, "An Address to the Congress of the United States, " (New York: National Woman's Suffrage Publishing Co. Inc., 1921), adapted.

The Women's Party

The radical suffragist group, the Women's Party, was headed by Alice Paul. Her strategy focused on the White House, where a continuous vigil was kept by women dressed in white, purple and gold, the colors of the movement. These poems show the spirit and determination of these women.

On the Picket Line

The avenue is misty gray,
And here beside the guarded gate
We hold our golden blowing flags
and wait.

The people pass in friendly wise;
They smile their greetings where we stand
And turn aside to recognize
The just demand.

Often the gates are swung aside;
The man whose power could free us now
Looks from his car to read out plea -
And bow.

Sometimes the little children laugh;
The careless folk toss careless words,
And scoff and turn away, and yet
The people pass the whole long day
Those golden flags against the gray
And can't forget.*

*Beulah Amidon, The Suffragist, March 3, 1917.

Alice Paul

I watched a river of women,
Rippling purple, white, and golden,
Stream toward the National Capitol.

Along its border,
Like a purple flower floating,
Moved a young woman, worn, wraithlike,
With eyes alight, keenly observing the marchers.
Out there on the curb, she looked so little, so lonely;
Few appeared even to see her;
No one saluted her.

Yet commander was she of the column, its leader;
She was the spring whence arose that irresistible river of women
Streaming steadily towards the National Capitol.*

*Katherine Rolston Fisher, The Suffragist, January 19, 1918.

Anti-Suffrage Campaign

The people against women's suffrage organized strategies to try and block the vote. This ad that appeared in a 1914 Michigan newspaper was worded as though coming from women, was paid for by the Macomb County Retail Liquor Association, an exclusively male organization. Pro-liquor factions were concerned that if women gained the vote, prohibition would become law.

An Appeal to Men!

You should vote against woman suffrage for ten thousand reasons.

We mention but six.

As women, we do not want the strife, bitterness, falsification and publicity which accompany political campaigns.

We women are not suffering at the hands of our fathers, husbands and brothers because they protect us in our homes.

We have women's greatest right - to be free from political medley.

We do not want to lose this freedom.

We have refrained from protest heretofore, depending upon men to protect women from the ballot. We now ask the men of Michigan to defend us and vote NO on suffrage.

Keep mother, wife and sister in the protected home. Do not force us into partisan politics. Put a cross before the word 'NO' on April 7th, and win our gratitude.*

* **Women Suffrage and Politics,** C.C. Catt and N.R. Shuler (New York: C. Scribner, 1923).

The Black Woman's Club Movement

Fannie Barrie Williams was one of the founders of the club movement, which worked towards improved social conditions for Black women. The first national conference of Black women was held in 1895 in Boston. In this excerpt, Williams describes the background of the woman's club movement.

The negro as an "alien" race, as a "problem," as an "industrial factor," as "ex-slaves," as "ignorant," etc., are well known and instantly recognized; but colored women as mothers, as home-makers, as the center and source of the social life of the race have received little or no attention. These women have been left to grope their way unassisted toward...the badges of race respectability. They have had no special teachers to instruct them. No conventions of distinguished women of the more favored race have met to consider their peculiar needs. There has been no fixed public opinion to which they could appeal; no protection against

the libelous attacks upon their characters, and no chivalry generous enough to guarantee their safety against man's inhumanity to woman. Certain it is that colored women have been the least known, and the most ill-favored class of women in this country....

In considering the social advancement of these women, it is important to keep in mind the point from which progress began, and the fact that they have been mainly self-taught in all those precious things that make for social order, purity and character. They have gradually become conscious of the fact that progress includes a great deal more than what is generally meant by the terms culture, education and contact.

The club movement among colored women reaches into the sub-social condition of the entire race. Among white women, clubs mean the forward movement of the best women in the interest of the best womanhood. Among colored women the club is the effort of the few competent in behalf of the many incompetent; that is to say that the club is only one of many means for the social uplift of a race....

The consciousness of being fully free has not yet come to the great masses of the colored women of this country. The emancipation of the mind and spirit of the race could not be accomplished by legislation. More time, more patience, more suffering and more charity are still needed to complete the work of emancipation.

The training which first enabled colored women to organize and successfully carry on club work was originally obtained in church work...The meaning of unity of effort for the common good, the development of social sympathies grew into woman's consciousness through the privileges of church work.

Still another school of preparation for colored women has been their secret societies. "The ritual of these secret societies is not without a certain social value." They demand a higher order of intelligence than is required for church membership. Care for the sick, provisions for the decent burial of the [poor] dead, the care of orphans and the enlarging sense of sisterhood all contributed to the development of the very conditions of heart that qualify women for the more inclusive work of those social reforms that are the aim of women's clubs. The churches and secret societies have helped to make colored women acquainted with the general social condition of the race and the possibilities of social improvement.

With this training the more intelligent women of the race could not fail to follow the example and be inspired by the larger club movement of the white women. The need of social reconstruction became more apparent as they studied the results of women's organizations. Better homes, better schools, better protection for girls of [little] home training, better sanitary conditions, better opportunities for competent young women to gain employment, and the need of becoming better known to the American people appealed to the conscience of progressive colored women from many communities.

While the National Federation of Women's Clubs has served as a guide and inspiration to colored women, the club movement among them is something

deeper than a mere imitation of white women. It is nothing less than the organized anxiety of women who have become intelligent enough to recognize their own low social condition and strong enough to initiate the forces of reform.*

*Fannie Barrier Williams, **A New Negro for a New Century** (Chicago: American Publishing House, 1900).

Nellie Bly

Nellie Bly was the pen-name of Elizabeth Cochrane, one of the most famous newspaper reporters ever. She would go to great extremes to "scoop" any story, and once committed herself to an insane asylum to do an expose. In this excerpt she discusses one of her most famous adventures, a trip around the world in 72 days. It was attempted in order to break the 80-day record of Jules Verne's fictional character.

What gave me the idea?

It is sometimes difficult to tell exactly what gives birth to an idea. Ideas are the chief stock in trade of newspaper writers and generally they are the scarcest stock in market, but they do come occasionally.

This idea came to me one Sunday. I had spent a greater part of the day and half the night vainly trying to fasten on some idea for a newspaper article. It was my custom to think up ideas on Sunday and lay them before my editor for his approval or disapproval on Monday. But ideas did not come that day and three o'clock in the morning found me weary and with an aching head tossing about in my bed. At last tired and provoked at my slowness in finding a subject, something for the week's work, I thought fretfully: "I wish I was at the other end of the earth!"

"And why not?" the thought came; "I need a vacation; why not take a trip around the world?"

It is easy to see how one thought followed another. The idea of a trip around the world pleased me and I added: "If I could do it as quickly as Phileas Fogg [in Verne's book] did, I should go."

Then I wondered if it were possible to do the trip in eighty days and afterwards I went easily off to sleep with the determination to know before I saw my bed again if Phileas Fogg's record could be broken.

I went to a steamship company's office that day and made a selection of time tables. Anxiously I sat down and went over them and if I had found the elixir of life I should not have felt better than I did when I conceived a hope that a tour of the world might be made in even less than eighty days.

I approached my editor rather timidly on the subject. I was afraid that he would think the idea too wild and visionary.

"Have you any ideas?" he asked, as I sat down by his desk.

"One," I answered quietly.

He sat toying with his pens, waiting for me to continue, so I blurted out:

"I want to go around the world!"

"Well?" he said, inquiringly looking up with a faint smile in his kind eyes.

"I want to go around in eighty days or less. I think I can beat Phileas Fogg's record. May I try it?" To my dismay he told me that in the office they had thought of this same idea before, and the intention was to send a man. However he offered the consolation that he would favor my going, and then we went to talk with the business manager about it.

"It is impossible for you to do it," was the terrible verdict. "In the first place, you are a woman and would need a protector, and even if it were possible for you to travel alone you would need to carry so much baggage that it would detain you in making rapid changes. Besides you speak nothing but English, so there is no use talking about it; no one but a man can do this."

"Very well," I said angrily, "Start the man and I'll start the same day for some other newspaper and beat him."

"I believe you would," he said slowly. I would not say that this had any influence on their decision, but I do know that before we parted I was made happy by the promise that if any one was commissioned to make the trip, I should be that one.

After I had made my arrangements to go, other important projects for gathering news came up, and this rather visionary idea was put aside for a while.

One cold, wet evening, a year after this discussion, I received a little note asking me to come to the office at once. A summons, late in the afternoon, was such an unusual thing to me that I was to be excused if I spent all my time on the way to the office wondering what I was to be scolded for.

I went in and sat down beside the editor waiting for him to speak. He looked up from the paper on which he was writing and asked quietly: "Can you start around the world day after tomorrow?"

"I can start this minute," I answered, quickly trying to stop the rapid beating of my heart.*

*From Elizabeth Cochrane, **Nellie Bly's Book, Around the World in 72 Days** (New York: Pictorial Weeklies, 1890).

THE LEADING 10 OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN WORKERS 1870-1970
In order of size, and as reported in each census regardless of changes in definition

	1870	1890	1910	1930	1950	1970
1	Domestic Servants	Servants	Other Servants	Other Servants, Other Domestic and Personal Service	Stenographers, Typists and Secretaries	Secretaries
2	Agricultural Laborers	Agricultural Laborers	Farm Laborers	Teachers (school)	Other Clerical Workers	Sales Clerks (retail trade)
3	Tailoresses and Seamstresses	Dressmakers	Laundresses (not in laundry)	Stenographers and Typists	Saleswomen	Bookkeepers
4	Milliners, Dress and Mantua Makers	Teachers	Teachers (school)	Other Clerks (except clerks in in stores)	Private Household Workers	Teachers (elementary school)
5	Teachers (not specified)	Farmers, Planters and Overseers	Dressmakers and Seamstresses (not in factory)	Saleswomen	Teachers (elementary school)	Typists
6	Cotton-mill Operatives	Laundresses	Farm Laborers (working out)	Farm Laborers (unpaid family workers)	Waitresses	Waitresses
7	Laundresses	Seamstresses	Cooks	Bookkeepers and Cashiers	Bookkeepers	Sewers and Stitchers
8	Woolen-mill Operatives	Cotton-mill Operatives	Stenographers and Typewriters	Laundresses (not in laundry)	Sewers and Stitchers, Manufacturing	Nurses, Registered
9	Farmers and Planters	Housekeepers and Stewards	Farmers	Trained Nurses	Nurses, Registered	Cashiers
10	Nurses	Clerks and Copyists	Saleswomen (stores)	Other Cooks	Telephone operators	Private House-hold Cleaners and Servants

Sources: Decennial Census, 1870-1940; Janet M. Hooks, **Women's Occupations Through Seven Decades** (Women's Bureau Bulletin #218, U.S. Department of Labor)

VII. MODERN TIMES (1920 TO PRESENT)

The Age of Flaming Youth and Speak-easies

With the passage of the 19th amendment, many Americans believed that the demands of the women's movement were fulfilled and that the fight for equality had reached a victorious conclusion. As America moved into the 20th century, women had increased freedom and access to places traditionally closed to them. Women graduates of Vassar and Smith were entering the work force. Women were also seen in saloons, speakeasies, and golf courses for the first time and were tolerated smoking in public. Women began to excel in athletics and for the first time received positive press coverage for their victories in track, tennis, swimming, and golf.

America was coming out of its Victorian stuffiness. Women's fashions underwent a drastic metamorphosis as the puffy hairdos and long, flowing skirts of the Gibson girls made way for the sleek, short, flashy clothes and close-cropped hair of the flappers. Young people challenged the mores and traditions of the Victorians in what is seen as the first real generation gap in our modern history. They lived for fun and freedom, which was seen in terms of automobiles, short skirts, cigarettes, speakeasies, jazz, and wild new dances like the Charleston. The "Age of Flaming Youth" was on.

In spite of the visible progress made by women in these areas, there was a strong anti-feminist backlash to many tenets of the cause for women's rights. There were strong pressures on women to stay in their traditional roles of mother and homemaker. Working women and feminist women were pictured as unfeminine, asexual or even communist (a little understood term, but frequently invoked as a source of problems).

The work of Dr. Sigmund Freud was gaining great popularity and respect at the time and was additional fuel to rationalize women's place in the home. Freud theorized that personality development originated in biological differences between males and females. All women possessed feelings of envy and

dissatisfaction because they did not possess male sex organs. Her only "healthy" escape was to turn to the subservient, passive role of motherhood. His theories labeled as "unhealthy" any woman who possessed dominant, energetic strivings, and who pursued traditionally male roles. Any participation by a woman in the competitive world was, according to Freud, an unhealthy inability to suppress male urgings, based on "penis envy." Freud's theories were considered truth by most people for almost 40 years.

Yet many women continued to enter the work force in spite of opposition to the idea. They did so, not to quell their "male urgings" nor to earn "pin money," as many postulated, but for economic necessity. In spite of progress that women had made during the high labor demands of World War I, many of the fields they had filled when the men were away at war were closed to them again. Women who had worked at higher levels or skilled tasks were fired or laid off when the men returned after the war. The auto, iron, and steel industries did begin to hire women on a small but regular basis, though even these gains were offset by the fact that severe wage discrimination existed in every category. Most industries also discriminated against Black people by maintaining "whites only" employment policies. Black women were forced to turn to domestic work as their almost exclusive source of jobs in urban areas. They often put in 100 hours of work a week, for a $2 to $5 weekly wage.

There were also marked declines of women in professional training programs and universities. Law and medical schools reinstituted quotas for female enrollments after World War I.

A common sight during the Depression

In the 1930s as the country slumped in the Depression, all workers and consumers suffered, but women were often the first victims of unemployment. When a company was forced to lay off workers, married women were fired first, although many of their husbands did not make enough to support their families. Single women were often next to lose their jobs, on the assumption that their families would support them. The federal government ruled that only one family member could work in the civil service, causing many women to quit their jobs. Bills prohibiting the employment of married women were introduced in the legislatures of 26 states and were only narrowly defeated. It was a common public sentiment that women, by entering the work force and taking jobs away from men, had caused the Depression. The argument continued that by leaving their homes they had weakened the moral and spiritual fiber of the country.

The Depression caused the demise of the "Age of Flaming Youth", giving way to despair and embitterment as young people *found* increasing financial pressures and a shortage of jobs. A 1936 Fortune magazine survey of college campuses found that economics had replaced liquor, sex, and religion as a dominant campus issue. The statistics for the time show a sharp increase in the number of teenage marriages as people attempted to find emotional security during the chaos of the Depression.

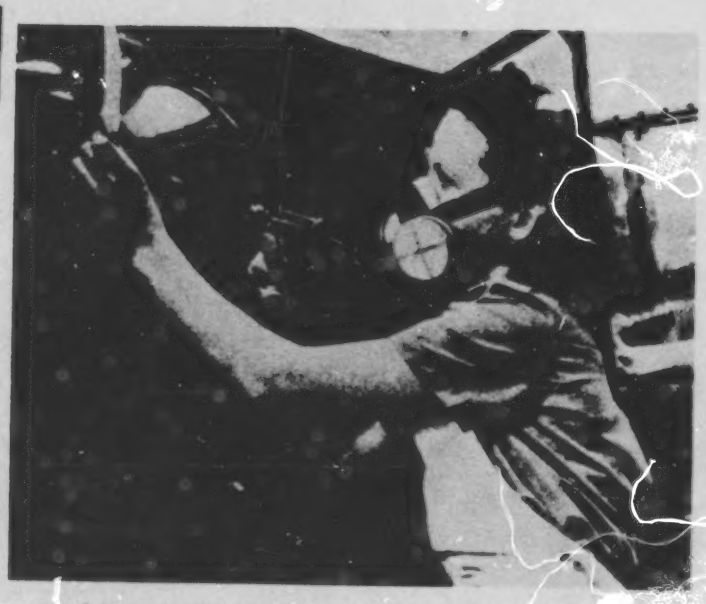
Women hit the streets in search of employment with the same desperation as unemployed males. According to one report in 1934, there were 75,000 homeless, single women in New York City alone. They made daily rounds to employment agencies, sleeping in train stations and parks, eating in penny kitchens. Unfortunately, often the women concluded that prostitution was their only means of livelihood.

One interesting advantage for women existed. Because of traditional wage discrimination, women were a cheaper labor source than men. Women often were given job preference over men because they would accept cheaper wages, but this occurred only in low-paying, unskilled categories.

The situation for Black people was especially severe as the federal work relief projects were closed to them. Clerical and office jobs were also closed to them. Even in the Black shopping district of Harlem, the salesclerks were all white. Black workers, victims of age-old discrimination, were severely limited in the options available during the Depression and were restricted to jobs as laborers and domestic workers. For 1939 the median yearly earnings of minorities was only 38 percent of white earnings.

President Roosevelt's New Deal set up programs and regulations to put American workers back on their feet. Prior to this time, the few regulatory laws for employment (such as maximum hour and minimum wage standards) affected women and children only. The passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938 marked a significant change in the relationship between the government and unions, as it regulated all employees of all interstate industries. However, it was not until the 1970s that all health, safety, and maximum hour regulations were the same for employees of both sexes. Social reform groups, like the League of Women Voters, the Women's Trade Union League, and the Consumer's League were largely responsible for these reforms. Since many women were restricted to unskilled and unregulated employment however, their life of back-breaking work for low pay was unaffected.

In Eleanor Roosevelt, women, Blacks, and the poor found their strongest advocate. She sustained many abuses from the public and the press in her early years, for historically the President's wife was concerned only with entertaining dignitaries. She believed that it was crucial that women become involved in politics because they could contribute essential qualities of compassion and humanitarianism which were lacking from male-dominated institutions. Through newspaper columns, radio broadcasts, books, and speeches, she molded public opinion about the needs of poor men and women. Though not a militant feminist, she maintained a firm commitment to assist the weaker members of the political



Manpower Commission poster (left) encourages women into nontraditional jobs in 1942. World War II airplane mechanics.

structure. She advocated and found assistance for impoverished farm families, unemployed single women, and urged the unionization of domestic workers. Working with Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins - the first woman cabinet member - she organized resident camps for unemployed women, similar to the Civilian Conservation Corps. Women received job skills and basic education along with a minimal allowance.

World War II came on the heels of the Depression and it created radically different demands on women than the preceding era. As in all previous wars in this country, when the men went off to fight, the women took over all aspects of employment in great numbers. Because World War II lasted four years, a staggering number of women entered the work force for the first time (6 million). While women made up 20 percent of the labor force in 1920, by 1945 they comprised 36 percent. The government and media launched detailed promotional campaigns to encourage women to undertake non-traditional work. The War Manpower Commission urged women to go to work with its 'Rosie the Riveter' ads and posters. Ten years after women were told not to take jobs away from men, they were told to get a job as fast as possible, and they responded in kind.

Trade and vocational training centers sprang up overnight in schools and store fronts to give women the skills they needed. Women workers filled every kind of job imaginable during the war—welders, tool and die makers, stevedores, foundry workers, crane operators, lumberjacks, and truck drivers, as well as professional jobs such as lawyers, doctors, and administrators of schools and businesses. By 1942, women made up 40 percent of the employees in aircraft plants and 12 percent of shipbuilders. Women also put on military uniforms for the first time, as the non-combat Women's Auxiliary Army Corps and the Navy's WAVES were founded to provide support services to the war effort. Only upper level government and business jobs seemed to escape this radical change in employment trends.

Black women and older, married women benefitted significantly from the shortage of labor. Black women entered factories and other skilled jobs for the first time. By 1945 almost 20 percent of employed Black women were working in factories. Government regulations prohibiting women from certain skilled jobs were removed and the idea of equal pay for women doing the same jobs as men began to surface. As a large number of married women with children entered the work force, child care became a serious problem. Though most women relied on relatives or neighbors, government and industry sponsored child care centers for the first time.

Women changed their attitudes about their place in the home during this time. In a 1945 survey of working women, 80 percent stated they would continue working when peace was declared, mostly because they needed the income. Yet once peace was achieved and the soldiers returned, women found themselves out of work again. A decrease in employment was expected, since the quantity of goods required during war time production was no longer needed. The alarming thing was the large proportion of women laid off in comparison to men. For example, while women made up 30 percent of the aircraft engine employees, they comprised 89 percent of those laid off. Companies like IBM and Detroit Edison reinstated their pre-war policies against hiring married women. The male-dominated unions were no help to women, and the concept of equal pay for equal work did not surface again until the 1970s. Some women tried to fight the resurgence of job discrimination in court battles, but their success was very limited.

As the country settled down after the war, the pressure for women to return to their traditional functions reappeared. This trend to backlash after the great gains of war time, reappears throughout American history - but never with the fervor of the late '40s and '50s. With the rarely challenged theories of Drs. Freud and Spock as ammunition, proponents of traditionalism campaigned to limit opportunities for women. All modern social ills - war, juvenile delinquency, increasing male alcoholism, impotency, and neurosis - were all traced to women leaving the home. The movies, novels, and songs of the era point to the image of women as siren, lover, mother, or wife almost exclusively. Women who did demand a life of their own and moved into extraordinary roles did so with limited support and much opposition. A few important theoreticians of the time (most notably, Dr. Karen Horney, Ashley Montagu, and Margaret Mead) battled the limits our culture was unfairly exerting on women.

In the face of active anti-feminism in our society and the strong pressures to find fulfillment through domesticity, the rise of militant feminism in the 1960s is surprising. It followed on the heels of a new reform mentality that began in the 1960s, a time when Americans became increasingly concerned about social and psychological ills.

The civil rights movement contributed a great deal to the social consciousness of Americans. Impressive, determined women like Coretta Scott King, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Marian Wright Edelman were seen at the forefront of the movement. When Rosa Parks, a young Black woman in Montgomery, refused to relinquish her seat to a white man, a protest began that ended in a Supreme Court decision against discrimination on public transportation. This act helped ignite the mass movement among Blacks to end segregation.

Rosa Parks, civil rights activist (left). Elizabeth Eckford and other Black students make history in Little Rock, 1957.

Some women entering non-traditional fields began making an impact. In the 1940s Rachel Carson became a marine biologist and zoologist in several of the nation's most highly respected laboratories. She was the first scientist who spoke out against the growing use of pesticides like DDT, which she believed greatly endangered the delicate balance of nature. At first, she was scorned as a silly, hysterical woman who was romanticizing nature. Soon additional research showed she was right and that manufactured chemicals were responsible for many human health and ecological problems. Her book, **The Silent Spring,** published in 1951, is now a classic, and she is respected as a founder of the environmental protection movement.

When Betty Friedan published **The Feminine Mystique** in 1963, an eloquent argument against women's traditional roles, many were ready for this new feminism. Women were awakened into action forming groups and organizations through which they demanded reforms. Legislation to end discrimination in employment and education were passed in the early 1970s and women began moving into new professions and vocations.

For the first time in our history, women were given increased opportunities without the pressure of a major war.

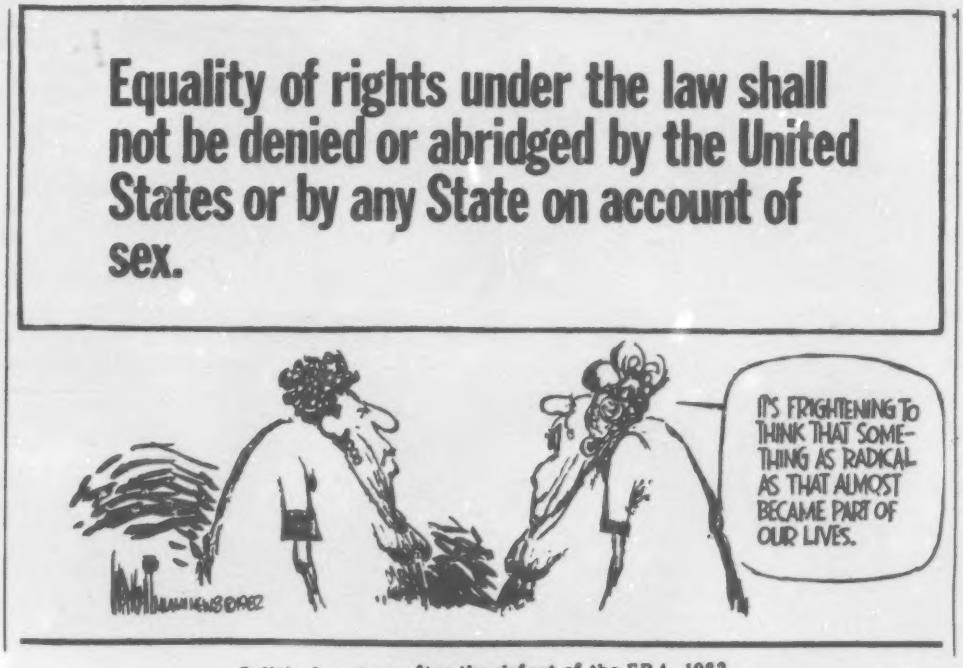
Clearly, American women have made substantial progress from the days of silence and servitude. But the metamorphosis of their role in society is hardly complete. Many age-old sources of discrimination are deep-rooted and unconscious. These are often highly emotional issues for both sides, but attitudes are slowly changing. Many traditionally discriminatory practices will necessitate lengthy legal action in order to be adequately challenged. Others will require in depth examinations of cause and effect.

American women have found that recognition as legal equals is an illusive goal. Authored by Alice Paul, the Equal Rights Amendment was first introduced to Congress in 1923. It languished for decades, though it was reintroduced every

year. The modern campaign began in 1967 when the untiring Paul, then 82, convinced the National Organization for Women to endorse it. In 1972 it passed Congress, thanks largely to the political maneuvering of then Michigan Congresswoman Martha Griffiths. By the end of the year 22 state legislatures of the 38 necessary for passage had ratified it.

National polls showed that two-thirds of U.S. citizens supported the ERA, and over 450 national organizations from the AFL-CIO to the YWCA endorsed it. Yet the controversy surrounding the ERA became increasingly heated as the seven year ratification deadline approached. Southern and Mormon-influenced western states were the staunchest opponents. ERA advocates, arguing that no other proposed amendment in our history received a ratification deadline, successfully lobbied for a three year extension. However, the battle intensified as some states tried to rescind their ratifications, while others passed it in eleventh hour showdowns. The ERA fell three states short of passage when the deadline of June 30, 1982 arrived.

ERA advocates theorized that the invisible lobby of businesses that profit from sex discrimination were the most deadly opponents. Trade associations, manufacturers and businessmen's alliances, Chambers of Commerce and insurance organizations were conspicuous in their absence from the rolls of ERA supporters. The insurance industry alone would find ERA's passage expensive. Women currently pay more for insurance than men because of the theory that their longer life expectancy and greater frequency of hospitalization make coverage of women more costly. This practice would be illegal were the ERA to become law. Some ERA opponents predicted its passage would lead to unisex toilets, destruction of family, homosexual marriage and women being forced into combat duty. More substantially, the opposition focused on the state's rights vs. the federal intervention argument.


Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.
IT'S FRIGHTENING TO THINK THAT SOMETHING AS RADICAL AS THAT ALMOST BECAME PART OF OUR LIVES.

Political cartoon after the defeat of the ERA, 1982

Whatever side of the issue, collectively and individually women gained a great deal of political expertise through involvement in this fight. This experience is sure to be useful in future political confrontations relative to many topics. The ERA battle will also be renewed as feminists have vowed to continually reintroduce it until equal rights for women become law.

The drastic increase of women in the labor force has been called the most significant social and economic change of this century. Its impact is only just beginning to be understood. The concept of the traditional family (where the father works and the mother remains home to care for the family) needs critical adjustment, for in 1978, only 7 percent of American children lived in such a family. Consequently, the roles and duties that both men and women experience have expanded to include all aspects of private and professional life. This has deep implications for educational institutions and other social services.

It is unfortunate that even with all the progress women have made in upgrading their status, many remain at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. Today, more than any other time in history, the majority of the poor are women. Two out of three adults who fall into the federal definition of poverty are women. Between 1965 and 1975, the number of poor adult males declined while poor women heading households increased by 100,000 a year. Over half of the families defined as poor are maintained by single women. The National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity has predicted that if this trend continues, by the year 2000 the poverty population will be comprised solely of women and their children.

The feminization of poverty can be attributed to both historical roots and recent sociologic changes. Historically, women receive direction and training that prepare them for low-paying job categories. Occupational segregation is extreme: 80% of employed women participated in only 20 of 420 listed occupations in 1982. These jobs fall into clerical, sales, and "service" categories, traditionally the lowest paying in the spectrum. Unlike men in this country (for whom poverty is usually a consequence of unemployment, remedied by finding a job), women are imprisoned in low paying job strata. This creates a new category: "the working poor." Even within the same occupational category, the distinctions between rank and function of specific jobs maintain a system of income inequality. In the same job category, women can expect to receive only about 60% of their male colleague's pay.

The recent increase in divorce contributes to this trend, as does the longevity of women. Whether through divorce or death, the displaced homemaker, (an older woman reentering the labor market with minimal or outdated skills) has become a common problem with few resources at her disposal. These are urgent problems facing the women's movement and our country today.

American men have also benefitted from the evolution of women's roles. Men enjoy greater mobility in moving into non-traditional roles. Affirmative action interests affect employment areas traditionally and predominantly held by women in such fields as nursing, elementary education, telephone operators, and secretaries. With more wives working outside the home, families benefit from the increased financial gains. Men are experiencing the reduced economic

burdens of being the sole supporter and can share equally in the joys of caring for their children.

In a society that relies on institutionalized education, health care, care for the aged, prefabricated housing, food and clothing, the need for rigidly enforced role stereotypes has diminished. The mobility available to all members of society is greatly expanded. We are now moving into an era where all people can enter into any role or job, regardless of stereotypes or expectations about what is appropriate for their gender. All people can now make decisions based on their interests and talents to the benefit of all society.

PRIMARY SOURCES: 20TH CENTURY WOMEN

"Flapper Americana Novissima"

The symbol of the new morality and modern living was the flapper, with her flashy clothes, and bold approach to the world. She fascinated the country as if she were a new species of animal. This contemporary report on a flapper reveals her look and attitude.

...The other day I found myself walking a few [yards] behind a girl who must have been approaching sweet sixteen. She was apparently on her way home from high school, taking in everything in sight, and her gait was swagger and superior. 'Howdy, Billy,' she called to a youth whom I fancied a classmate; and 'Hello, boys,' was her greeting to three more a little later.

Soon she turned on her heel and wandered back, so that I had to meet her. A glance at her comely, happy, innocent, and vividly tinted face, as I swerved to one side that she might keep the middle of the walk, almost made me feel that it would not surprise her overmuch if I stepped to the very edge of the gutter, and removed my hat, as if apologizing for trespassing on preserves that belonged to her. Had I done so, however, it might have made no difference; for I suspect that she would have remained unconscious of my very existence, although just then we were almost the only ones on the block...

I now felt at liberty to look at her a little more carefully. She wore a knitted hat, with hardly any brim, of a flame or bonfire hue, a henna scarf; two strings of Betty beads, of different colors, twisted together; an open short coat, with ample pockets; a skirt with vertical stripes so pleated that, at the waist, it seemed very dark, but the alternate stripes of white showed progressively downward, so that, as she walked, it gave something of what physiological psychologists call a flicker effect. On her right wrist were several bangles; on her left, of course, a wrist watch. Her shoes were oxfords, with a low, broad heel. Her stockings were woolen and of brilliant hue. But most noticeable of all were her high overshoes, or galoshes. One seemed to be turned down at the top and entirely unbuckled, while the other was fastened below and flapped about her trim ankle in a way that compelled attention. This was in January, 1922, as should be particularly noted because, by the time this [essay] meets the reader's eye, flapperdom, to be really chic and up-to-date, will be quite different in some of these details.

A good dance is as near heaven as the flapper can get and live. She dances at noon and at recess in the school gymnasium; and, if not in the school, at the restaurants between courses, or in the recreation and restrooms in factories and stores. She knows all the latest variations of the perennial fox-trot, the ungainly contortions of the camel walk; yields with abandon to the fascination of the tango; and if the floor is crowded, there is always room for the languorous and infantile toddle, and the cheek-to-cheek close formation - which one writer ascribes to the high cost of rent nowadays, which necessitates the maximum of motion in the minimum of space - has a lure of its own, for partners must sometimes cling together in order to move at all. Verticality of motion and, at least, the vibrations of the 'shimmy' are always possible.*

*G. Stanley Hall, "Flapper Americana Novissima," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 129 (June, 1922).

Educated Women in the Depression

The following case study is typical of educated single women during the Depression. Their lives were desperate wanderings from one employment possibility to another in a fruitless search for an honest wage. Government agencies and society in general were not sympathetic to their plight.

Vera has never had a job. Almost every day of her first year in New York was spent in the discouraging routine all too familiar to the inexperienced college graduate looking for work. Employment agencies and prospective employers were equally indifferent to her plight when they discovered her lack of experience. And the money she spent on stamps for answering want ads was wasted; her letters never elicited replies.

For a time she lived on a small inheritance. But by the summer of 1934 it was gone and she seemed as far as ever from any hope of getting a job. Despite the intense heat and the growing nausea and weakness of slow starvation, she continued to look for work for a month after her funds gave out. During this period she did not pay any rent for her furnished room and for food she depended almost entirely on occasional dinner invitations from her friends. There were not many of these invitations because she did not tell anyone how desperate her situation really was. Sometimes, though, she would borrow a dollar which usually went for carfare when she got so tired she couldn't walk further or, contrary to her better judgment, for food.

After four weeks of assuring her landlady that she would soon get a job and pay her rent, she came home one night to find that all her clothing and personal belongings had disappeared during her absence. Frantic, she appealed to the landlady who told her that everything would be returned when she paid her rent...

In a daze, she went to the park and sat on a bench and cried until a policeman threatened to arrest her on a charge of vagrancy if she stayed any longer. That night she slept, or tried to sleep, in the waiting room of the Grand Central. Once a guard told her to leave, but when he discovered she was so weak and sick that she couldn't stand, he relented. Later, she discovered that homeless women often sleep in the big stations, pretending to be waiting for a morning train. She also found women lying behind the heating and ventilating shafts in subway toilets...

Vera herself slept in all the Y.W.C.A.'s in town in rotation: homeless girls can spend one night in each...[She finally borrows a little money from a friend and finds a tenement room which she shares with another homeless girl.]

Vera is now in the third year of her unemployment. If she is completely discouraged, she does not say so. In fact, she told me that she had recovered sufficiently from [an accident] to start looking for work again. "Only I'll have to have something to wear first," she said. "No one will hire me looking this way." Her one dress has been cleaned and mended until there is nothing left of it; she has no hat and there are large holes in her shoes.

Lately she applied for relief, but so far nothing has come of it...*

*Ruth L. Porterfield, "Women Available," The American Mercury (April, 1935).

Black Women in the Depression

Traditionally, Black women had been hired only in very low paying job categories, predominantly domestic work. During the Depression they were especially hard hit as they were usually the first to be fired, have their pay cut, and were restricted from government relief programs.

...Along with lowered wages have come increased responsibilities for many Negro as well as white women who still hold jobs. Case after case found by the Women's Bureau agents in their home visits [to the homes of employed women] testifies to the desperate economic struggle of working people, to the burden of support that is being thrown upon employed women as pay is cut and as other wage earners in the family lose jobs, and to the methods undertaken for reducing expenses, often to the point of doing without the bare necessities of life.

For example, cases may be cited of several Negro women who worked in laundries in a city in the South and who were visited late in 1932 or early in 1933. The essential problems they show could be duplicated in almost any city.

In a family of five the mother was the sole support, except that the husband had been provided with some "made work." She had earned $5 a week in 1931 but received only $4 in 1932. The rent had not been lowered and was always behind. The three children were all under 16. The oldest had to be taken from school as she was nearly blind. She had had some free treatment, but the family had never been able to get the glasses prescribed for her.

Another family had been increased to four when a brother-in-law had brought his wife to live with her mother and sister. Except that the brother-in-law was given some "made work," the sister was the only wage-earner and her pay had been cut in the 2 years preceding the date of the study. She said, "We are just living here till they put us out." She was walking to work to save car fare. They had discontinued taking a newspaper and had to make over their clothing. They were eating only two meals a day...

In another case, a woman of 37 was supporting a family of three including her mother and a niece. She claimed to have worked in the same laundry since the age of 9. Her regular time had been 9 hours a day, and her normal wage had been only $89 but this had been twice cut toward the end of 1932. She stated that the employer had tried to spread work to avoid dismissal, though another worker in the same laundry spoke as follows: "They laid off everybody they could think of, then worked the devil out of us who were left." This family had not asked for public aid. Their rent had been somewhat reduced, and they had cut down on clothing and ate sparingly...*

*U.S. Women's Bureau, **The Employment and Unemployment of Negro Women** (July, 1943).

Women in the War Effort

This excerpt comes from a report on women's increasing employment opportunities, written in 1943. By the end of the war, two years later, 6,000,000 women had entered the labor force for the first time. With pride they shared the rewards of a successful wartime effort.

A call has gone out for millions of women to exchange kitchen aprons for overalls; for women whose hands are skilled in sewing, in cooking, to turn to handling lathes, cutting dies, and running drills; for women whose eyes are used to fine sewing to learn to trace blueprints, test precision instruments, and inspect plane parts. All kinds of women are needed, young and old, women who once worked and can work again, and young women new to the factory or the job.

"Men's Work" Now Done by Women

A former beautician handles eighty-seven levers that control the switches of tracks of the Long Island Railroad at its Jamaica station. Her skilled hands now operate the complicated signals controlling 600 trains a day...Planes that come to a stop at the Washington, D.C. airport - and other airports - are taken in charge by women mechanics to be cleaned, inspected, serviced...Take another look at the stevedores loading and unloading cargo at the busy docks at San Pedro, California. They are women, not men...Yesterday you rode up to your office in an elevator operated by a man; today a girl is at the lever...The man teller behind the window at your bank has been replaced by a woman.

War jobs? Every kind of work that keeps the wheels turning - for the vital civilian needs or for war needs - is a war job.

Civil Service and Military Employment

The flood of women, young and not so young, into Washington in answer to the call of civil service might be termed the March on Washington. In a single year, 40,000 stenographers and typists alone, it is said, were summoned to the banks of the Potomac from every state in the union.

With the new war agencies mushrooming to huge size, and some of the old-line agencies expanding - while simultaneously others shrink or disappear - the need for women clerical workers has amounted almost to a crisis. The situation in Washington has involved pyramiding problems. There are too few rooms, beds, and eating places, too few buses and streetcars. As a result, many a young woman has returned home from Washington weary and disillusioned. But these casualties of war are being reduced as better employment techniques are being worked out and new housing and recreational facilities developed.

In the Army and Navy there is a fairly wide range of civilian posts for women besides the traditional clerical and stenographic jobs. The last figures compiled showed a total of 275,000 women working for the War Department and 56,000 for the Navy. A good many of these civilian posts are directly with the armed forces, as hostesses, technicians, librarians, and dieticians. Women are helping to train cadets at primary flight schools of the Army. Approximately 25,000 women are being used in aviation field work, inspecting planes and parachutes, cleaning engines, and towing planes. Women are training ground crews and mechanics for the Army Air Force.

The special women's branches of the armed forces offer more lure to many women who like to feel they are actively a part of the fighting forces. These auxiliaries are the WAAC, the WAVES, the WAFS (Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Service, now Women in Air Force), the SPARS (Semper Paratus Always Ready Service, of U.S. Coast Guard). The Women's Reserve of the Marines, and, of course, the Army and Navy nurses. The women's auxiliaries are subject to the discipline and regulations of the services of which they are a part.*

*Katherine Glover, **Women at Work in Wartime** (New York, the Public Affairs Committee, 1943)

Pioneer in Civil Rights

The major confrontation in the school desegregation issue happened in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957. A federal judge ordered integration to the outrage of most of Little Rock's white law-makers, civic leaders, and citizens. Elizabeth Eckford was 15 when she tried to enter Central High School to become its first Black student. On the day following the one she describes here, she successfully entered the school, which is now a model example of effective integration.

The crowd moved in closer and then began to follow me, calling me names. I still wasn't afraid. Just a little bit nervous. Then my knees started to shake all of a sudden and I wondered whether I could make it to the longest block I ever walked in my entire life.

Even so, I still wasn't too scared because all the time I kept thinking that the guards would protect me.

For a moment all I could hear was the shuffling of their feet. Then someone shouted, "Here she comes, get ready." I moved away from the crowd on the sidewalk and into the street. If the mob came at me I could then cross back over so the guards would protect me. I walked until I was right in front of the path to the front door.

I stood looking at the school - it looked so big! Just then the guards let some white students go through.

The crowd was quiet. I guess they were waiting to see what was going to happen. When I was able to steady my knees, I walked up to the guard who had let the white students in. He too didn't move. When I tried to squeeze past him, he raised his bayonet and then the other guards closed in and they raised their bayonets.

They glared at me with a mean look and I was very frightened and didn't know what to do. I turned around and the crowd came toward me.

They moved closer and closer. Somebody started yelling, "Lynch her! Lynch her!"

I tried to see a friendly face somewhere in the mob - someone who maybe would help. I looked into the face of an old woman and it seemed a kind face, but when I looked at her again, she spat on me.

I turned back to the guards but their faces told me I wouldn't get help from them. Then I looked down the block and saw a bench at a bus stop. I thought, "If I can only get there I will be safe." I don't know why the bench seemed a safe place to me, but I started walking toward it. I tried to close my mind to what they were shouting, and kept saying to myself, "If I can only make it to the bench I will be safe."

When I finally got there, I don't think I could have gone another step. I sat down and the mob crowded up and began shouting all over again. Someone hollered, "Drag her over to this! Let's take care of the nigger." Just then a white man sat down beside me, put his arm around me and patted my shoulder. He raised my chin and said, "Don't let them see you cry."

Questions on the Equal Rights Amendment

Since 1923, amendments for constitutional equality for women have been introduced in Congress. It was 1972 before the necessary votes were gathered, and the amendment began going through the tedious process of state ratification. The following discussion was written by Eileen Kelly, formerly the president of New York State National Organization for Women, and covers many of the controversies about the amendment.

Proposed Amendment XXVII

(Proposed by Congress on March 22, 1972)

Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

The 1970s provided the favorable climate for passage in Congress, since the ERA is less an instrument of social change than it is a reflection of it. Opponents of the ERA cling to a past viewed through rose-tinted glasses wherein women's role is to raise children and men's role is to make money; women go to the grocery and men go to war. What is ignored in this view is that women have been subjected to different rules in the law as well as socially. Even today in 1978, there are some statutes, both federal and state, that treat men and women differently. Although the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments have been applied in racial discrimination cases, the courts have failed to interpret the equal protection and due process guarantees as prohibiting discrimination against women. Consequently, women have sought relief through an Equal Rights Amendment.

Because the ERA is such a volatile issue, social studies teachers are apt to encounter not only many questions about the Amendment, but also much misunderstanding. Some of the common misconceptions are examined here.

What will happen to the protective labor laws?

The laws will be extended to both sexes; laws which exclude a sex from certain occupations, from overtime pay, or from other benefits will be examined.

Sex crimes such as rape?

Sexual assault laws will be extended to both sexes, and statutory rape laws will cover both sexes.

Coed bathrooms? Sleeping quarters in prisons that are coed?

The constitutional right of privacy was established by the Supreme Court in Griswold v. Connecticut, 381 United States 479, (1965). This right permits a separation of the sexes. Additionally, the ERA demands "equality under the law" - the use of bathrooms is not a legislative concern. Furthermore, American citizens do seem to be able to cope with coed bathrooms on airplanes and buses.

Would women lose maternity benefits?

No; these laws fall into a category of laws which are constitutionally acceptable.

Would the Amendment cause extensive litigation?

Not necessarily; it should not result in any more court testing than any other important piece of legislation.

Will it affect the family?

It will dignify the family by recognizing the partnership.

Will college dormitories be integrated?

Dormitories are already integrated; the ERA will not force integration, but lack of space cannot be used as a justification to deny equal educational opportunity on the basis of sex.

Will it make wives legally responsible for 50 percent of the financial support of their families?

No, the support obligations of each spouse would be defined in functional terms; where one spouse is the primary wage earner and the other is the homemaker, the wage earner would have the duty to support the spouse who stays at home.

Will it take away alimony?

No; alimony will be awarded, as it is now, based on the ability to pay.

Will women be drafted?

Currently, there is no conscription; military service is voluntary, and a high percentage is female. In the event of war, women probably would be drafted, with or without the Equal Rights Amendment. Assignments would be made according to the women's qualifications and the service's needs.

Although the impetus of the ERA has encouraged the passage of other legislation designed to provide equality, recent court cases reaffirm the necessity of the ERA. For example, in Vorchheimer (1977), the Supreme Court failed to reverse a lower court decision which permitted the exclusion of a student from a public school on account of her sex. A Philadelphia student was denied admission to a technical school simply because she was a girl. No comparable facility existed for females.

Thirty-five states, representing three-fourths of the nation's population, have ratified the ERA. In several of the states that have failed to ratify, the vote margin has been very narrow (e.g., two votes in North Carolina, two in Florida.) If the current time limitation is not extended, 3 more states must ratify by March 22, 1979. [Congress extended the deadline to 1982, but ratification still fell short.]

While some states have passed their own equal rights amendments and there has been various piecemeal legislation during the past fifteen years, at present equal rights tends to relate to geography. Nonetheless, the attainment of the eventual goal is inevitable regardless of what happens in the next several months.

The Feminine Mystique

Betty Friedan's book was the cause of much controversy when it was published in 1963. She articulated many previously unspoken complaints and touched many sensitive nerves in Americans, causing a resurgence in the feminist movement. In this excerpt she analyzes the position reserved in society for modern women.

The Problem That Has No Name

The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night - she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question - "Is this all?"

For over fifteen years there was no word of this yearning in the millions of words written about women, for women, in all the columns, books and articles by experts telling women their role was to seek fulfillment as wives and mothers. Over and over women heard in voices of tradition and of Freudian sophistication that they could desire no greater destiny than to glory in their own femininity. Experts told them how to catch a man and keep him, how to breastfeed children and handle their toilet training, how to cope with sibling rivalry and adolescent rebellion; how to buy a dishwasher, bake bread, cook gourmet snails, and build a swimming pool with their own hands; how to dress, look, and act more feminine and make marriage more exciting; how to keep their husbands from dying young and their sons from growing into delinquents. They were taught to pity the neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy women who wanted to be poets or physicists or presidents. They learned that truly feminine women do not want careers, higher education, political rights - the independence and the opportunities that the old-

fashioned feminists fought for. Some women in their forties and fifties, still remembered painfully giving up those dreams, but most of the younger women no longer even thought about them. A thousand expert voices applauded their femininity, their adjustment, their new maturity. All they had to do was devote their lives from earliest girlhood to finding a husband and bearing children....

Just what was this problem that has no name? What were the words women used when they tried to express it? Sometimes a woman would say, "I feel empty somehow...incomplete." Or she would say, "I feel as if I don't exist." Sometimes she blotted out the feeling with a tranquilizer. Sometimes she thought the problem was with her husband, or her children, or that what she really needed was to redecorate her house, or move to a better neighborhood, or have an affair, or another baby...

The Happy Housewife Heroine

The feminine mystique began to spread through the land, grafted onto old prejudices and comfortable conventions which so easily give the past a stranglehold on the future. Behind the new mystique were concepts and theories deceptive in their sophistication and their assumption of accepted truth. These theories were supposedly so complex that they were [known only to few and therefore impossible to disprove]. It will be necessary to break through this wall of mystery and look more closely at these complex concepts, these accepted truths, to understand fully what has happened to American women.

The feminine mystique says that the highest value and the only commitment for women is the fulfillment of their own femininity. It says that the great mistake of Western culture, through most of its history, has been the underevaluation of this femininity. It says this femininity is so mysterious and intuitive and close to the creation and origin of life that man-made science may never be able to understand it. But however special and different, it is in no way inferior to the nature of man; it may even in certain respects be superior. The mistake, says the mystique, the root of women's troubles in the past is that women envied men, women tried to be like men, instead of accepting their own nature, which can find fulfillment only in sexual passivity, male domination, and nurturing maternal love.

But the new image this mystique gives to American women is the old image: "Occupation: housewife." The new mystique makes the housewife-mothers, who never had a chance to be anything else, the model for all women; it presupposes that history has reached a final and glorious end in the here and now, as far as women are concerned. Beneath the sophisticated trappings, it simply makes certain concrete, finite domestic aspects of feminine existence - as it was lived by women whose lives were confined, by necessity, to cooking, cleaning, washing, bearing children - into a religion, a pattern by which all women must live or deny their femininity.

Fulfillment as a woman had only one definition for American women after 1949 - the housewife-mother. As swiftly as in a dream, the image of the American woman as a changing, growing individual in a changing world was shattered. Her solo flight to find her own identity was forgotten in the rush for the security of togetherness. Her limitless world shrunk to the cozy walls of home.*

*Betty Friedan, **The Feminine Mystique** (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1963).

SUGGESTED READING LIST

This is a list of novels which can be used as part of a suggested supplemental reading list. Each deals specifically with a woman or women in general. There are many more which could have been included but this should be a helpful sample.

Historical Novels Covering 1600-1900

Bowman, John Clarke; **Powhatan's Daughter**

Bristow, Gwen; **Jubilee Trail**

Brown, Dee; **Creek Mary's Blood** (Creek woman is caught in cultural bind)

Butler, Octavia; **Kindred** (Black woman time travels to her ancestors)

Cather, Willa; **My Antonia**
Lucy Gayheart
Song of the Lark

Chopin, Kate; **The Awakening** (1880 woman leaves her husband and causes scandal)

Crane, Stephen; **Maggie, Girl of the Streets**

Dreiser, Theodore; **Sister Carrie**
Jennie Gerhardt

Faulkner, William; **The Unvanquished** ("oral history" of Confederacy civilians)

Ferber, Edna; **So Big**
Show Boat
Giant

Forbes, Ester; **A Mirror for Witches** (Salem Witch Trials)

Gains, Ernest; **Autobiography of Miss Jane Pitman**

Giles, Janice Holt; **The Believers** (about Shakers' community)
Hannah Fowler (woman in colonial Kentucky)

Jakes, John; **Furies** (woman kidnapped by Indians during the Gold Rush)

Lewis, Sinclair; **Main Street**

Miller, Isabel; **Patience and Sarah** (love between two 19th Century Connecticut women)

Mitchell, Margaret; **Gone With the Wind**

Petrie, Anne; **Tituba of Salem Village**

Richter, Conrad; **The Trees**
The Fields
The Town (all on the settlement of Ohio)

Roberts, Kenneth; **Lydia Bailey** (revolution in Haiti)

Seton, Anya; **Devil Water** (life in Williamsburg)
Dragonwick (life in Hudson River Valley)
The Winthrop Woman (life in Puritan Colony)

Stone, Irving; **Those Who Love** (John C. Fremount and wife)
Love is Eternal (Lincoln and wife)
President's Lady (Rachel Jackson)
Immortal Wife (Abigail Adams)

Thorp, Louise; **The Peabody Sisters of Salem** (intellectual women in early 1800s)

Waldo, Anna Lee; **Sacajawea**

Walker, Margaret; **Jubilee** (the Black woman's **Gone With the Wind**)

West, Jessamyn; **The Friendly Persuasion** (power of a Quaker woman)

20th Century Women

Angelou, Maya; **I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings** (young Black girl grows up in Alabama)

Arrow, Harriet; **The Dollmaker** (woman from Kentucky adjusts to war-time Detroit)

Danby, Mary; **A Single Girl** (young woman's grief about Viet Nam)

Fast, Howard; **The Second Generation** (woman in San Francisco during World War II)
The Establishment

Glasgow, Ellen; **Barren Ground** (woman's life following World War I)

Harris, Marilyn; **Hatter Fox** (young Navajo woman torn between cultures)

Holliday, Billie, **Lady Sings the Blues**

Hunter, Kristin; **God Bless the Child**

Kaufman, Bel, **Up the Down Staircase**

Keith, Agnes; **Three Came Home** (British prisoners in a Japanese prisoner of war camp)

Lindbergh, Anne; **Gift from the Sea**

Marshall, Katherine; **Christy** (Appalachian school teacher)

Marshall, Paule; **Brown Girl, Brownstones** (young Black girl from Barbados in Brooklyn)

McCarthy, Mary; **The Group**

McCullers, Carson; **Member of the Wedding**
The Heart is a Lonely Hunter

Meriwether, Louise; **Daddy was a Number Runner** (Harlem in the 1930s)

Milford, Nancy; **Zelda** (biography of Zelda Fitzgerald)

Plain, Belva; **Evergreen** (Jewish immigrant family rises to power)

Porter, Katherine Anne; **Ship of Fools** (passengers to the U.S. from Germany in the late 1930s)

Smith, Betty; **Joy in the Morning**
A Tree Grows in Brooklyn
Maggie-Now

Wertembaker, Lael; **The Afternoon Woman** (woman and her doctor reacts to Supreme Court decision allowing abortions)

Wouk, Herman; **Marjorie Morningstar**

Wright, Sarah; **This Child's Gonna Live** (a black woman in 1930s dreams of a better life for her children)

Yezierska, Anzia; **Bread Givers** (Russian immigrant girl in the 1900s)

WOMEN'S HISTORY RESOURCES

If you or members of your district staff are interested in pursuing study of women's history or the use of primary resources, we have many relevant books in our collection. These and other materials are available on loan from the CSES Resource Center. You may want to purchase selected titles for your professional library.

HISTORIES OF WOMEN IN AMERICA

Carroll, Bernice. **Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays.** Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1976.

Cott, Nancy and Pleck, Elizabeth. **A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women.** New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979.

Davis, Marianna W., editor. **Contributions of Black Women to America, Vol 1.,** The Arts, Business & Commerce, Media, Law, Sports Vol. 2., Civil Rights, Politics, Government, Education, Mediocre. Charleston, South Carolina: Science Kenday Press, Inc., 1982

Gridley, Marion. **American Indian Women.** New York: Hawthorn Books, 1974

Gurko, Miriam. **The Ladies of Seneca Falls.** New York: Schocken Books, 1974.

Hahn, Emily. **Once Upon a Pedestal.** New York: Signet Books, 1974.

Harley, Sharon and Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn. **The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images.** Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1978.

Hymowitz, Carol and Weissman, Michaele. **A History of Women in America.** New York: Bantam Books, 1978.

Janeway, Elizabeth. **Between Myth and Morning: Women Awakening.** New York: Morrow, Inc., 1974.

Katz, William L. **Teachers Guide to American Negro History.** Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968.

Landes, Ruth. **The Ojibway Woman.** New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1938.

May, Antionette. **Different Drummers, They Did What They Wanted.** Millbrae, CA: Les Femmes Press, 1976.

Nies, Judith. **Seven Women: Portraits from the American Radical Tradition.** Penguin Books, 1977.

Niethammer, Carolyn. **Daughters of the Earth: The Lives and Legends of American Indian Women.** New York: Collier Books, 1977.

O'Neill, William. **Women at Work.** New York: New York Times Book Co., 1972.

Parker, Gail. **The Oven Birds: American Women on Womenhood 1820-1920.** Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1972.

Rowbotham, Sheila. **Hidden from History, Rediscovering Women in History from the 17th Century to the Present.** New York: Vintage Books, 1976.

Ryan, Mary. **Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present.** New York: New Viewpoints, 1975.

Sochen, Judith. **Movers and Shakers: American Women Thinkers and Activists, 1900 -1970.** New York: New York Times Book Co., 1973.

Stephenson, June. **Women's Roots: Status and Achievements in Western Civilization.** Napa, CA: Diemer Smith Publishing Company, 1981.

Stern, Madelaine. **We the Women: Career First in 19th Century America.** New York: Franklin and Company, 1962.

Taylor, Kathryn. **Generations of Denial: 75 Short Biographies of Women in History.** New York: Times Change Press, 1971.

Tax, Meredith. **The Rising of the Women.** New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980.

Terrell, John and Terrell, Donna. **Indian Women of the Western Morning: Their Life in Early America.** New York: Dial Press, 1974.

PRIMARY RESOURCE ANTHOLOGIES

Alloy, Evelyn. **Working Women's Music.** Somerville, MA: New England Free Press, 1978.

Asian's Women Journal. **Asian Women.** Berkeley: University of California, 1975.

Baxandall, Rosalyn, et. al., ed. **America's Working Women: A Documentary History 1600 to Present.** New York: Random House, 1976.

Christy, Howard C. **The American Girl.** New York: DaCapo Paperback, 1906.

Coffin, Tristram Potter. **The Female Heroine Folklore and Legend.** New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975.

Grant, Linda DaPauw and Hunt, Conover. **"Remember the Ladies:" Women in America 1750 - 1815.** New York: Viking Press, 1976.

Gray, Dorothy. **Women of the West.** Millbrae, California: Les Femmes Press, 1976.

Hughes, Langston, et al. **A Pictorial History of Black Americans.** New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1973

Katz, Jane. **I Am the Fire of Time, The Voices of Native American Women.** New York: Dutton Publishers, 1977.

Lerner, Gerda, ed. **Black Women in White America: A Documentary History.** New York: Random House, 1973.

Lerner, Gerda. **The Female Experience: An American Documentary.** Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill Co., 1977.

Lowenberg, Bert and Bogin, Ruth. **Black Women in Nineteenth Century American Life; Their Words, Thoughts, Feelings.** University Park, PA: State University Press, 1976.

Mackenzie, Midge. **Shoulder to Shoulder.** New York: Alfred Knopf, 1975.

Moffatt, Mary Jane, ed. **Revelations: Diaries of Women.** New York: Vintage Books, 1974.

Moraga, Cherrie and Anzaldria, Gloria, ed. **This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color.** Watertown, Massachusetts: Persephone Press, 1981.

Murray, Janet. **Strong Minded Women & Other Lost Voices from 19th Century England.** New York: Parthenon Books, 1982.

Papachristou, Judith. **Women Together - A History in Documents of the Women's Movement in the U.S.** New York: Alfred Knopf, 1976.

Rubinstein, Charlotte Streifer. **American Women Artists.** New York: Avon Publishers, 1982.

Tufts, Eleanor. **Our Hidden Heritage: Five Centuries of Women Artists.** New York: Paddington Press Ltd., 1974.

Vlach, John. **The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts.** Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978.

WEEA MATERIALS

America's Women of Color. St. Paul Public Schools, Minnesota. Set of five filmstrips, teachers manual and curriculum guides on American Indian, Asian American, Black and Hispanic Women. Separate guides for elementary and secondary use.

Breaking the Silence: 7 Courses in Women's Studies. Goddard College. Readings, activities, resources. Includes perspective on poor, third world, and institutional women. High school to adult.

In Search of Our Past: Units in Women's History, Berkeley Unified School District, California. Separate works on U.S. History and World History. Junior High focus.

Sources of Strength: Women and Culture, Far West Laboratory or Educational Research and Development, San Francisco. Massive volume of activities and readings on Asian and African women. Senior high focus.

Women in American History. American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C. Four separate books divided chronologically. Readings, activities, discussion questions, resources. High school focus.

ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES

The following organizations have primary or secondary resource materials relevant to women's history and minority history. Most are available free of charge or at a minimal cost.

National Women's History Week Project
P.O. Box 3716
Santa Rosa, CA 95474
(707) 526-5974
Publishes yearly catalogue of ideas, posters and pamphlets.

TABS: Aids for Ending Sexism in Schools
744 Carroll Street
Brooklyn, NY 11215
(212) 788-3478
Publishes quarterly magazine of ideas and resources ($20.00/year) and sets of women's history posters (24 for $53.00; 10 for $23.00)

American Historical Association
400 A Street S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 544-2422
Report on scholarship on the history of women, career information, and pamphlet on teaching women's history.

American Federation of Teachers
11 Dupont Circle NW
Washington D.C. 20036
Publishes **Women in American History** series of books.

National Archives for Black Women in History
1318 Vermont Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 332-9201
Comprehensive collection of materials, traveling exhibits, brochures and booklets.

Folksong in the Classroom Newsletter
Dr. Lawrence Seidman
Long Island University
140 Hill Park Avenue
Great Neck, NY 11021
Inexpensive, periodic newsletter, devoted to single issue or era. Write for sample issue and details.

Documentary Photo Aids, Inc.
P.O. Box 956
Mount Dora, FL 32757
(904) 383-8435
Sets of original photos and pictures catalogued by topic, each set contains background booklet. Free catalogue.

Northeast Network for Curriculum Coordination
Rutgers, The State University
Building 4103, Kilmer Campus
New Brunswick, NJ 08903
(201) 932-3845
Women At Work Pamphlet

Women in World Area Studies
Upper Midwest Women's History Teacher Resource Center
St. Louis Park Schools
6425 W. 33rd Street
St. Louis Park, MN 55426
(612) 925-4300
Publishes series of secondary school texts and fimlstrips on women in Africa, the Middle East, Traditional and Modern China, India, USSR, Ancient Greece and Rome, Medieval Europe and Latin America.

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

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League of Women Voters
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The Louis Hine Collection
National Archives
Nebraska State Historical Society
New York Public Library
New York Public Library Picture Collection
Peabody Museum
Smithsonian Institute
Wide World Photos